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REPORT BY THE PRESIDENT TO THE CONGRESS FOR THE YEAR 1956

U. S. President.

U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE UN

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LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL

The President to the Congress

To the Congress of the United States:

I transmit herewith, pursuant to the United Nations Participation Act, the eleventh annual report, covering United States participation in the United Nations during the year 1956.

1956 was a year of great peril to world peace and thus a stringent test for the United Nations—notably because of the crises in Egypt and in Hungary.

In Egypt the United Nations caused the world to turn away from war. Through a series of resolutions, the General Assembly effectively mobilized world opinion to achieve a cease-fire, and France and the United Kingdom shortly agreed to withdraw their forces. The Assembly's moral pressure played a powerful part in securing the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Egyptian territory in March of this year.

In the case of Hungary, the Assembly succeeded by massive votes in mobilizing opinion against the Soviet Union's blatant disregard of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations. Although it has so far been impossible by peaceful means to secure freedom for the people of Hungary, this mobilization did arouse a strong revulsion around the world against Soviet imperialism.

The sharp contrast between the response of France, the United Kingdom and Israel on the one hand, and the Soviet Union on the other to the call of world opinion, is striking.

The Secretary-General deserves particular commendation for his role in the United Nations actions during the Middle East crisis. As requested by the General Assembly, he developed within forty-eight hours a plan to set up, with the consent of the nations involved, the United Nations Emergency Force "to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities." The Force took up its position in the Suez Canal area and later moved to other positions along the armistice demarcation lines. Today, it remains the guardian of peace in the sensitive Gaza and Sharm-el-Sheikh areas. The concept inherent in this Force

constitutes a potentially important development for the future of the United Nations as an increasingly effective instrument for maintaining peace.

Under a mandate from the General Assembly, the Secretary-General also organized a fleet of more than forty salvage vessels to remove the obstructions with which the Suez Canal had been blocked during the hostilities. By April 24, 1957, the Canal was fully open and had resumed its role as an important artery in world commerce.

Thus the United Nations dealt effectively with a grave situation which could have caused general war. The restoration and maintenance of relative calm gives the United Nations the opportunity to work for the long-range solutions in the Middle East which alone can guarantee against the outbreak of new fighting.

Unlike the crisis in the Middle East, the situation in Hungary presented the problem of what the United Nations can do when one of its members refuses to respond to the peacemaking efforts of the General Assembly.

What began as a peaceful student demonstration in Budapest on October 23, 1956, mushroomed into a nation-wide uprising of the Hungarian people aimed at national independence. It was crushed only through massive Soviet armed intervention. The United States proposed a resolution in the Security Council calling on the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops. When this resolution was vetoed by the Soviet Union, a special emergency session of the General Assembly was convened under the "Uniting for Peace" procedure.

As the climax of a historic series of resolutions, the General Assembly on December 12 condemned the Soviet Union's violation of the United Nations Charter "in depriving Hungary of its liberty and independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental rights." It again requested the Soviet Union to halt its intervention in Hungary's internal affairs, withdraw its troops from Hungary, and permit re-establishment of Hungary's political independence. To these requests, the Soviet Union turned a deaf ear.

On January 10, 1957, the General Assembly established a Special Committee on the Problem of Hungary consisting of representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia, and Uruguay—a committee drawn from five continents—and instructed it to investigate the Hungarian situation. Denied admission to Hungary by the Kadar regime, the Committee carried out its mandate by collecting authentic evidence elsewhere, mainly from eye witnesses who had fled Hungary. The results of this investigation were published in the Special Committee's report. They clearly refuted on a point-by-point basis the Soviet version of events in Hungary. The report confirmed that

the purpose of the Soviet intervention was the suppression of the legitimate demands of the Hungarian people for freedom and independence. It revealed the naked truth of the ruthlessness of the Soviet intervention and its utter disregard for national sovereignty and basic human rights.

It was this report which led to the reconvening of the Assembly on September 10, 1957, and to the second resolution again condemning Soviet conduct, which was adopted by 60 votes to 10.

The United Nations succeeded in stopping the fighting in the Middle East because the parties involved complied with the recommendations of the General Assembly. In the case of Hungary, United Nations action was frustrated because the Soviet Union refused to comply with its recommendations. The blame lies not with the United Nations but squarely on the shoulders of the men of the Kremlin who rely on force to keep Hungary from regaining its freedom.

The record of the United Nations clearly demonstrates that the processes of consultation, compromise, debate, and agreement are capable of relaxing tensions and resolving disputes if nations are willing to respect the opinions of mankind.

I was particularly pleased to note the progress made, under the aegis of the United Nations, in the fields of disarmament and the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The United Nations Disarmament Subcommittee has beeen the center for serious negotiations which we all hope will lead to a mutually acceptable agreement. The establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency has been especially promising.

The United States welcomed the constructive work done by the United Nations over the past year towards the achievement of self-government and independence in the dependent areas and trust territories. The independence of Ghana and the termination of the United Nations trusteeship over Togoland under British administration constitute notable achievements.

By the admission of Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, Japan, Ghana, and most recently the Federation of Malaya, the United Nations has increased its membership to eighty-two. However, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Viet-Nam are still excluded by the Soviet veto in the Security Council. The United States considers their admission necessary and desirable and will continue its efforts to bring about their entry into the Organization.

The humanitarian activities of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in providing minimum subsistence and housing for over 900,000 refugees in the Near East were continued by the General Assembly with United States support. Although the Agency is doing an excellent job under trying circumstances, we must find a permanent solution to the Palestine refugee problem.

The economic and social activities of the United Nations have become increasingly effective. Through many channels and in numerous programs, the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies have contributed to the economic progress of the newly developing areas of the world and, in the words of the United Nations Charter, "the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations." This report gives a full account of many of the strikingly successful battles the Specialized Agencies have fought and won against disease, hunger, and illiteracy in many lands.

It has been the continuing pledge of the United States to give full support to the United Nations and to seek constantly for ways to increase its strength and to develop its effectiveness as an instrument to maintain world peace. This report to the Congress contains concrete proof that we are keeping that pledge.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 13, 1958.

The Secretary of State to the President

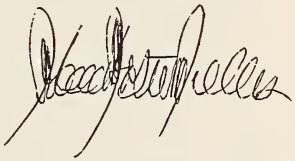
Department of State,
Washington, November 29, 1957.

The President:

Under the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Congress), the President transmits annually to the Congress a report on United States participation in the United Nations. A report on the activities of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies for the year 1956 has therefore been prepared. The report also covers that portion of the Eleventh General Assembly which continued until March 3, 1957. As in previous years, the report is a comprehensive survey of the Government's participation in the work of the United Nations and the Specialized Agencies.

I recommend that you approve the report for transmittal to the Congress.

Respectfully submitted,



The President,
The White House.

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PART I

Maintenance of Peace and Security

Important organic developments in the functioning of the United Nations occurred during 1956 arising out of its consideration of the situations in Egypt and Hungary. In each case the Security Council, having been prevented from exercising its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security because of the lack of unanimity of its permanent members, decided to call an emergency special session of the General Assembly in accordance with the provisions of the 1950 Uniting for Peace resolution. On October 31, 1956, the Security Council acted for the first time pursuant to this resolution in calling the first emergency special session to take up the situation created by the action against Egypt. Again, on November 4, 1956, the Security Council called the second emergency special session to consider the situation in Hungary.

At the two special emergency sessions and at the 11th regular session of the General Assembly, which convened on November 12, steps were taken that led to significant developments in the functioning of the United Nations as an organization established for the primary purpose of maintaining international peace and security. One important step was the Assembly's decision to entrust the Secretary-General with responsibility for implementing certain aspects of its resolutions with respect both to the Middle East and to Hungary. The second important step was the Assembly's decision to establish an emergency U.N. force to serve in connection with the Middle East situation.

On the basis of the Assembly's resolutions, the Secretary-General has played a key role in the Middle East complex of problems, both as the coordinator of U.N. agencies and as negotiator among the parties involved in the Suez Canal dispute and in the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt. The U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF) has been employed under the direction of the Secretary-General acting on the basis of authority granted by the General Assembly and with the assistance of an Advisory Committee composed of representatives of seven member states.

UNEF was established by the Assembly (1) to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of foreign forces from Egypt, (2) to prevent raids across the border between Israel and Egypt, and (3) to insure compliance with the Egypt-Israel Armistice Agreement in accordance with all the terms of the Assembly's resolutions of November 2, 1956, and February 2, 1957. UNEF's mission continues, and the significance of its establishment therefore cannot yet be fully assessed. When the 11th General Assembly recessed on March 8, 1957, however, a cease-fire had been obtained; foreign troops had been withdrawn; and 5,800 U.N. forces contributed by 10 states were stationed, with Egypt's consent, on Egyptian territory or in Gaza. Moreover, the concept of an emergency force constitutes a potentially important development for the future of the United Nations as an effective instrument for keeping the peace.

The General Assembly also requested the Secretary-General to investigate the situation in Hungary, to report on compliance with its resolutions concerning this situation, and to take any initiative in this connection that he deemed helpful. His efforts here, however, have been frustrated because of the failure of the Soviet Union and the present Hungarian authorities to respect the Assembly's recommendations. The Assembly's powers are only recommendatory, and the U.S.S.R. proved less sensitive to world opinion than those members involved in the hostilities in Egypt. The Soviet-controlled Kadar regime in Hungary refused the Secretary-General admission to the country during the fighting there, and both the U.S.S.R. and the Kadar regime have ignored the Assembly's recommendations, contending that the situation in Hungary is a matter of domestic jurisdiction and denying the validity of the Assembly's findings.

The Assembly, in December 1956, condemned the U.S.S.R.'s violation of the U.N. Charter in its intervention in Hungary. In January 1957 it established a Special Committee to investigate the situation created by this intervention and any developments growing out of the Assembly's recommendations. While this committee was also denied admission to Hungary, it has endeavored to carry out its mandate by collecting evidence elsewhere, largely from among the refugees who fled Hungary.

During the major part of 1956, U.N. efforts directed toward the maintenance of peace and security had been principally focused on the continuing disarmament negotiations, on the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and on the two aspects of the Middle East situation that underlay the crisis in this area that developed late in October—the mounting tension between Israel and the Arab States and Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal.

In a series of exchanges with Premier Bulganin during 1956, Presi-

dent Eisenhower urged the taking of certain immediately practicable, confidence-building steps in the disarmament field that could help to create world conditions in which agreement on a comprehensive disarmament program might become possible. These steps included not only the President's "open skies" proposal of the previous year, and the earlier Soviet proposal of ground inspection teams, but also the cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes.

This approach to the problem of reaching agreement on a comprehensive disarmament program was taken during 1956, as in 1955, by the United States in the meetings of the U.N. Disarmament Commission and its Subcommittee of Five, where the President's proposals were elaborated upon by the United States in consultation with a number of other members of the subcommittee. While major differences with the U.S.S.R. continued to exist, an apparent Soviet willingness to consider aerial inspection was expressed in a letter from Premier Bulganin to President Eisenhower late in the year.

The problem of test explosions of nuclear weapons was discussed in detail by the Disarmament Commission in the summer of 1956 and by the General Assembly at its 11th session. No action, however, was taken by either body on the proposals before it, which ranged from cessation of test explosions to registration of such tests with a view to keeping the total and expected radiation in the world under constant observation. The 11th General Assembly decided unanimously to refer all the various proposals in the disarmament field before it to the Disarmament Commission and its subcommittee with a request that the latter be reconvened at an early date.

The approval on October 26, 1956, of the statute for the new International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) by a conference called for this special purpose brought close to realization the suggestion made by President Eisenhower to the General Assembly in 1953 that an international agency be established under U.N. aegis to further the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

The approval of the statute was the outcome of 3 years of complicated negotiations initially among a group of 8 and then 12 governments and finally among the representatives of 81 governments and 7 specialized agencies at the IAEA conference that convened on September 20, 1956. Immediately after the conference a Commission began work to prepare for the actual establishment of the IAEA, which comes into existence when the statute of the Agency, signed by 80 nations, has been ratified by 18 of them, including any three of the leading atomic powers—the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, and the U.S.S.R.

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The United States has announced that it will make available to the Agency, on terms to be agreed upon when it is established, 5,000 kilograms of uranium 235 and would make available additional amounts to match the sum of the contributions of all other members through July 1, 1960.

In a related field the U.N. Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, which was established by the General Assembly in 1955 at the suggestion of the United States, held two meetings in 1956. The first of these meetings was devoted to a survey of the scientific problems involved in the committee's task of assembling, reviewing, and disseminating information submitted by governments on the observed levels of radiation in the environment and on scientific observations and experiments concerning the effects of radiation on man and his environment. At its second meeting the committee took up four technical problems in this field, including a review of the radiological data so far submitted by governments. The United States submitted seven reports to the committee on various aspects of the radiation problem and offered technical assistance to other countries in connection with the measurement of fallout.

The Middle East was the focal point of U.N. efforts during 1956 to encourage and assist the peaceful settlement of disputes. The markedly deteriorated situation between Israel and the Arab States along the armistice demarcation lines was considered at a series of Security Council meetings and led to a visit to the area in the spring by the Secretary-General in an effort to reduce tensions. The situation, however, continued to deteriorate. In July Egypt seized the Suez Canal Company. After an unsuccessful effort by the nations principally concerned to arrive at a solution with Egypt, the United Kingdom and France brought the matter to the Security Council. An agreement was reached in October on six requirements to be met in any settlement of the Suez Canal question. Egypt concurred in these requirements, but further progress toward solution of this problem was interrupted by the Israeli attack on Egypt, followed by Franco-British intervention.

The situations in Cyprus and in Algeria remained of deep concern throughout 1956. The agenda of the 11th General Assembly included two items concerning Cyprus, one submitted by Greece and one by the United Kingdom. The Assembly's action advocating resumption of negotiations was in keeping with the U.S. view that the most constructive approach to a solution of this problem continues to lie in "quiet diplomacy."

The Assembly's action with respect to Algeria was similarly moderate, being limited to an expression of hope that a peaceful, democratic, and just solution to the problem would be found. The

French did not oppose, as they had in 1955, inscription of this item, again proposed by a group of Asian and African states, though they continued to maintain that the question of Algeria is a matter of domestic jurisdiction and therefore outside the competence of the United Nations.

The Assembly's agenda again included in 1956 two items concerning the racial policies of the Union of South Africa. The decision to include these items, which the Union has consistently maintained are matters of domestic jurisdiction, led to its withdrawal from further participation in the Assembly, except for attending the Administrative and Budgetary Committee when South African interests were involved, and to its withdrawal of all but token representation in the Organization.

Five new members were admitted to the United Nations during the 11th General Assembly. Four of these—Morocco, Tunisia, the Sudan, and Ghana—are newly independent states. The fifth—Japan—had heretofore been barred from membership by repeated Soviet vetoes in the Security Council. Two other applicants—the Republic of Korea and Viet-Nam—were again found fully qualified for membership, and the Assembly requested the Security Council, where their admission also has been blocked by the Soviet veto, to reconsider these applications in light of this finding. The Assembly also reaffirmed its objective for the peaceful reunification of Korea.

The increase in U.N. membership from 60 to 81 in a little over a year, with a preponderance of this increase coming from Africa, the Near East, and the Far East, substantially changed the voting complexion of the Assembly. African and Asian members, rather than the American Republics, now have one-third of the votes, or sufficient if they vote together to block action on matters requiring a two-thirds majority. However, in practice the U.S.S.R. and its satellites constitute the only group that consistently votes as a bloc. The African and Asian members, like others, tend to vote together where they have clearly recognized common interests—for example, where issues having "colonial overtones" or problems of economic development are involved—but at such times there is often substantial support from other members as well for the position endorsed.

The greatly increased membership of the United Nations was also reflected in four specific items related to the enlargement of U.N. bodies, which were included on the agenda of the 11th General Assembly. Action was taken on only one of these—the enlargement of the International Law Commission from 15 to 21. The other items concerned proposals for enlargement of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the International Court of Justice and involve possible amendment of the Charter and

the statute of the Court. While enlargement of the Security Council was discussed at some length, further consideration of all three items was postponed until the 12th General Assembly.

The Soviet bloc, with the support of some non-Communist countries, continued its efforts to exclude the representatives of the Republic of China and seat the representatives of the Chinese Communist regime in various U.N. bodies. The United States' strong opposition to these efforts was successful.

DISARMAMENT

The United States in 1956 continued, in the United Nations, to seek immediate practicable steps within the continuing objective of reaching agreement on a comprehensive and sound disarmament program. The need for a new approach arose out of the recognition that the disarmament negotiations of the preceding 10 years had failed to bring about substantial agreement on a comprehensive disarmament plan and that great difficulties were involved in obtaining agreement on a comprehensive program in a world beset by mutual fear and suspicion, unsettled major political problems, and growing nuclear weapons capabilities.

It became increasingly clear that some initial steps, such as reducing the fear of surprise attack, building up a fund of experience in armaments control and inspection, and bringing the nuclear threat under control, would be required to lessen these difficulties. These steps could help create the conditions under which comprehensive disarmament could take place. The value of taking such initial confidence-building steps to prepare the way for further agreement and to afford protection against surprise attack was recognized after President Eisenhower proposed at Geneva in July 1955 that a fresh beginning be made by the exchange of military blueprints and the establishment of mutual aerial inspection.

This change of emphasis was confirmed by the General Assembly at its 10th session in a resolution which it adopted overwhelmingly, with only the Soviet bloc opposed. This resolution, while urging the states concerned to continue their efforts to reach agreement on a comprehensive disarmament plan, requested them to give priority to initial steps and listed such confidence-building measures as the Eisenhower plan for exchanging military blueprints and mutual aerial inspection, the Bulganin plan for establishing control posts at strategic centers, and all such measures of adequately safeguarded disarmament that were then feasible.

United States Proposals of March 1, 1956

In order to implement the 10th Assembly's resolution, the Disarmament Commission, on December 16, 1955, requested its subcommittee to reconvene early in 1956 and submit to the Commission an interim report covering the progress made during the first 6 weeks' negotiations.

Prior to the meeting of the subcommittee, President Eisenhower took the initiative by making new and significant proposals in a letter to Premier Bulganin on March 1, 1956.

The President stated that, in his judgment, special efforts must be directed to bring the nuclear threat under control. In order to do this, he declared that:

> As an important step for this purpose and assuming the satisfactory operation of our air and ground inspection system, the United States would be prepared to work out, with other nations, suitable and safeguarded arrangements so that future production of fissionable materials anywhere in the world would no longer be used to increase the stockpiles of explosive weapons. With this could be combined my proposal of December 8, 1953, "to begin now and continue to make joint contributions" from existing stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable materials to an international atomic agency. These measures, if carried out adequately, would reverse the present trend toward a constant increase in nuclear weapons overhanging the world. My ultimate hope is that all production of fissionable materials anywhere in the world will be devoted exclusively to peaceful purposes.

In addition to proposing the cessation of the production of fissionable material for weapons purposes, the President noted that means must be found to bring about effectively controlled and safeguarded disarmament. On this point he said:

> In general, my feeling is that disarmament should be sought primarily, though not exclusively, in terms of limitations on armaments rather than on men. The former are more subject to supervision, regulation and control than the latter. In the present state of international affairs and especially in the absence of real peace in the Far East, I foresee that it may be difficult to agree on reductions in the general level of armed forces at this time. It should, however, be possible now to agree on measures having a stabilizing effect, dealing with the control and limitation, under proper safeguards, of major types of armaments. These measures will be an essential part of the comprehensive system required to provide security to participating states.

The President also stated in his letter to Bulganin the following objectives of the United States in making these proposals:

> I am confident that the adoption of my Geneva proposal combined with ground inspection teams which you proposed, thus reducing the danger of surprise attack, will in fact lead to a reduction of armaments, the lessening of tensions, and the brightening of the prospects of a durable peace. Certainly the United States is fully resolved to achieve those ends. My representatives on the Subcommittee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission will be prepared to

help develop a program to carry out that resolve, through appropriate action by our Governments.

Thus the President reaffirmed that it was the policy of the United States to continue to seek agreement on disarmament within the framework of the United Nations, a point he had already made in his reply of January 28, 1956, to Premier Bulganin's letter of January 23, 1956, in which a 20-year treaty of friendship and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union had been proposed. This suggestion was repeated in a Bulganin letter of February 1, 1956.

Subcommittee of Five

U.S. PROPOSALS

When the Subcommittee of Five, consisting of representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, France, and Canada, met from March 19, 1956, to May 4, 1956, in London, the proposals presented by the U.S. representative, Mr. Stassen, Special Assistant to the President for Disarmament, confirmed the President's previous assurances to Premier Bulganin that the United States was indeed prepared to cooperate in an effort to seek a sound agreement on disarmament.

On March 19, 1956, Mr. Stassen tabled for the record President Eisenhower's letter to Premier Bulganin of March 1, 1956. On March 21, Mr. Stassen presented for the subcommittee's consideration two working papers designed to facilitate negotiations but not to bind any of the five governments. These papers proposed, independently of any other measures put forward for the subcommittee's consideration as Mr. Stassen subsequently explained, taking either or both of two steps in the field of international inspection and control as follows:

1. The exchange of visits into each other's territory by technical missions to test disarmament control and inspection methods and, in the light of this experience, to make recommendations on provisions to be contained in any subsequent agreement. Such visits would occur simultaneously over a period of 6 months, during which limited access to information and limited movement would be permitted. No sensitive or secret information would be revealed in the absence of a comprehensive and enforceable disarmament agreement. Should such an agreement be concluded later, the personnel who participated in the technical exchange missions could be used as an experienced nucleus for the larger body of inspectors and control officers that would be required.

2. That the same five states agree to carry out, for the purpose of study and furthering negotiations, a short demonstration control and inspection test within a limited area of the United States and the Soviet Union involving the exchange of relevant military "blueprints" and the use of aerial photographs. The test demonstration area in each country would be designated on a reciprocal basis

and would consist of one continuous strip of 20,000 to 30,000 square miles containing at least one port, one airfield, one railroad terminal, one major highway junction, and some military installations and units, but no facilities, installations, or units of an especially sensitive or secret nature. This test was to be carried out by demonstration control teams operating from control posts established in the test strip area at one port, one railroad terminal, one airfield, and one highway junction.

Five days later, on March 26, Mr. Stassen introduced a new United States proposal for inclusion within the first stage of any disarmament agreement to guard against surprise attack. He proposed that, as a part of the system of ground and air inspection, each state should obligate itself to provide information in advance on all projected movements of its land, sea, and air armed forces through international air or water or over foreign soil. The successful institution of such a system of advance notifications for which the designation of competent military officers, the establishment of communications centers, and the working out of certain technical details would be required would reduce tension and increase confidence.

The U.S. representative tabled a third working paper on April 3 which was not to represent U.S. policy nor bind any of the five governments, but merely to facilitate discussion. This draft working paper dealt with the first phase of a comprehensive disarmament program—the possible preliminary steps that might precede first-stage reductions of armed forces, armaments, and military expenditures; the type of supervisory and control bodies that might be established for such a program, etc.

In discussing this draft working paper, the Soviet representative indicated he preferred the partial approach to disarmament, but that no proposal linking conventional and nuclear armaments was acceptable. He continued his opposition to aerial reconnaissance. He said it had nothing to do with disarmament control and protested against its being made a precondition to any disarmament.

Mr. Stassen explained that aerial survey which would begin concomitantly with the ground control system was an integral initial component of any acceptable disarmament plan. Moreover, the United States could not agree to reductions in armaments until relationships between armaments and manpower had been established. He declared that conventional and nuclear weapons must be linked in any safe and reliable disarmament program. So long as there was no safeguarded limitation on nuclear weapons as part of a disarmament agreement, the United States had to continue nuclear weapons testing for self-defense and the security of the free world.

On May 3, 1956, our representative tabled a summary memorandum whose eight interrelated points reflected the basic policy of the United States on disarmament and which could be considered in place of the

April 3 draft working paper. The memorandum declared that the objectives of the first steps of a disarmament plan were to (1) decrease the nuclear threat over the world; (2) reduce the burden of armaments; (3) provide against surprise attack; (4) increase economic development; (5) lessen tensions; (6) prevent a future arms race of either a conventional or nuclear nature; (7) prepare for further stages of a comprehensive program for disarmament; and (8) improve the prospects for a just and lasting peace.

The memorandum noted that in meeting these objectives an immediate beginning could be made on important but gradual multilateral reductions in armaments, armed forces, and military expenditures under a sound disarmament agreement with adequate inspection. For example, as a basis of measurement in a specific manner to be mutually agreed, the United States and the Soviet Union could reduce their force levels to 2.5 million men. The memorandum maintained, however, that comprehensive disarmament and drastic reductions could only be carried out safely as parallel progress was made in the solution of important political issues in the world; to do otherwise would increase the danger of war.

It affirmed that the nuclear threat could be brought under control on a scientifically feasible basis by working out suitable and safeguarded arrangements so that future production of fissionable materials anywhere in the world would not be used to increase the stockpiles of explosive weapons. Joint and repeated transfers of fissionable materials from existing stockpiles would then be made for peaceful purposes. The memorandum declared that an adequate and effective disarmament inspection system was essential for a sound disarmament agreement. Such an inspection system would require, under present military and geographical conditions, effective aerial inspection as well as ground and financial inspection; it should encompass forces and facilities that states maintain outside their borders; and it must provide against surprise attack. A disarmament agreement without such an inspection system would be unsound and would soon be a source of increased fears and tensions.

The memorandum advocated as preliminary steps a small-scale demonstration of inspection methods and exchange of inspection teams of technicians to facilitate joint study of the practical problems involved and to advance the negotiations of a sound agreement. The memorandum pointed out that the implementation of President Eisenhower's proposal of July 21, 1955, for the exchange of military blueprints and the establishment of mutual aerial inspection would prove to be a beginning for a significant move toward disarmament and a lasting peace.

The memorandum concluded with the announcement that within the foregoing broad concepts and for the purposes of advancing the stated objectives, the United States continued to be ready and willing to move to meet the views of other governments and reaffirmed that it would actively, patiently, and persistently seek a sound agreement on a comprehensive disarmament plan including effective measures of inspection and control.

ANGLO-FRENCH PROPOSAL

The representatives of the United Kingdom and France on March 19, 1956, introduced a joint working proposal for comprehensive disarmament in three stages. Their paper proposed as a governing body an international disarmament organization consisting of a General Assembly, an Executive Committee, and a control organ headed by a Director General. The passage from one stage to the next would require the unanimous decision of the Executive Committee that the provisions of the previous stage had been carried out, that the control organ was prepared effectively to supervise the next stage of disarmament, and that the necessary conditions of confidence existed. Failing such unanimous decision the matter would eventually be referred to the U.N. Security Council.

The first stage of the Anglo-French plan would include the signing of a disarmament treaty under which all participating states would be prohibited, in accordance with the United Nations Charter, from the use of nuclear weapons except in defense against aggression. There would then be a "freeze" on production of conventional armaments and, simultaneously, the start of the control organ's operations against surprise attack. These would consist of aerial surveys, the use of ground-control posts, mobile teams, and financial inspectors. After this the level of conventional armaments and armed forces for participating states other than the five great powers would be fixed by agreement of the states concerned. The first agreed reductions of conventional armaments and armed forces by the five great powers and consequential reductions in their military budgets would take place once the Executive Committee accepted the control organ's report that it was ready to supervise such measures. A special branch of the control organ would be established to supervise the limitation of nuclear test explosions.

The second stage includes limitation of nuclear test explosions, the completion of the first half of the agreed reductions by the five great powers, and the beginning of the first half of the reductions by other states. It would also see further development of the inspection and

control system which should now be able to verify a cessation of nuclear weapons production.

The third stage would include the simultaneous controlled prohibition of military nuclear test explosions and of the manufacture and use of nuclear weapons, international control of nuclear test explosions for peaceful uses, the beginning of the last quarter of the agreed great power reductions and the second half of the agreed reductions by other states, and the continued operation of the control organ to insure compliance. A portion of the resultant financial savings in stages two and three would be used for economic betterment.

Suspension by the Executive Committee of the projected prohibitions, limitations, and reductions would be permitted at any time while irregularities under Chapter VII (action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression) of the United Nations Charter were referred for decision to the United Nations General Assembly or Security Council.

Amplifying this March 19 plan, the representatives of the United Kingdom and France presented on May 3, 1956, a joint working paper on control. This gave details on composition, functions, and powers of the proposed international disarmament organization. As projected in this paper, regional centers of the organization would be established embracing a number of control posts. The director of each regional center would report to the Director General. The organization and its inspection teams would have unrestricted freedom of movement and communication and broad rights of inspection, including that of aerial survey, and would inspect actual reductions when they began. The participating states would be required to furnish the organization with information and facilities sufficient to permit efficient and safeguarded supervision and inspection.

The objects of control would vary from one stage of disarmament to the next. In the first stage they would include all armed forces (including paramilitary and security forces), conventional armaments, and installations. In the second stage nonnuclear weapons, factories and installations, nuclear test explosions, and chemical and bacteriological armaments would also be controlled. The third stage would bring under control these further categories: establishments for the production or use of nuclear materials, stocks of nuclear materials of weapons grade not made into weapons, and nuclear weapons manufacturing establishments. Agreed definitions of some of the objects of control, such as armed, paramilitary and security forces, armaments, etc., would also be required.

In the course of the discussions, the Soviet representative rejected the Anglo-French proposal as a basis of negotiation, asserting that it neglected control of nuclear weapons and legalized their use, linked

conventional and nuclear disarmament, and made aerial survey a precondition to any disarmament.

SOVIET PROPOSAL OF MARCH 27, 1956

The Soviet representative, on March 27, 1956, after noting the difficulties that had arisen in the preceding attempts to arrive at a comprehensive disarmament agreement, and particularly in the field of nuclear weapons control, suggested that progress might be made if the five powers could reach agreement on conventional arms alone. To that end he introduced a Soviet proposal that dealt primarily with the reduction and control of conventional arms, although its preamble pointed to the desirability of the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

The Soviet proposal envisaged that certain steps for the limitation and reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces would be carried out in 1956–58 under the supervision of an international control organ which would be established within 2 months of the coming into force of the proposed agreement. The signatory states would submit a complete blueprint on conventional forces to the international control organ within a month of its establishment. Then, within 3 months after the coming into force of the disarmament agreement, two further steps would be taken: a freeze of the main types of conventional armaments and armed forces and financial expenditures at the level of December 31, 1955, and the beginning of conventional armaments reduction by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Chinese Communists, and the Soviet Union.

Within 2 years, the Soviet paper proposed, gradual reductions would bring the force levels of the powers down as follows: 1 million to 1.5 million men each for the United States, the Soviet Union, and the Chinese Communists and 650,000 men each for the United Kingdom and France. The size of the annual reductions would be subject to further agreement. Communist China would be involved in the negotiations on its force levels. A contemplated world conference would determine later the levels of armed forces of other states, but these would not exceed 150,000–200,000 men.

Under the heading of preventing surprise attack, the Soviet paper renewed the Soviet proposal of May 10, 1955, to establish, under the international control organ, control posts at large ports, railway junctions, aerodromes, and on major highways in the territory of the signatory states and, with the consent of the states concerned, on the territory of other states in which the signatory states have armed forces. The control organ's staff would have, within the bounds of

its control functions, unimpeded access on a continuing basis to all objects of control.

According to this Soviet proposal the objects of control would be military units; stores of military equipment and ammunition; land, naval, and air bases; factories manufacturing conventional armaments and ammunition. Aerial photography would be considered as one of the methods of control at a later stage of general disarmament. There would also be unimpeded access to financial records and the possible use of some of the resulting savings from reduced expenditures on armaments for economic development.

The Soviet-proposed control organ would be established in time to permit its inspectors to perform their functions when the agreed measures were begun. It would establish staffs in the capitals of the parties to inspect and analyze data. Its staff would be recruited internationally. It would make recommendations to the U.N. Security Council on the treatment of violations.

The Soviet plan proposed that a zone of limitation and inspection of armaments be established in Germany and its neighboring states which would include an agreed ceiling for the forces of the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and France; the prohibition of atomic weapons in the area; and inspection by joint four-power inspection teams. Pending agreement on the establishment of such a zone, it was hoped that each of the four powers would unilaterally reduce its forces in German territory.

The Soviet plan also called for partial measures independent of any disarmament agreement or any agreed inspection and control system. These would include cessation of thermonuclear weapons tests, removal within 3 months of atomic weapons from the armament of troops in Germany, and reduction of military budgets by up to 15 percent.

The U.S. representative asked for additional details on the Soviet proposal's control provisions. He also inquired about the time aerial photography, as referred to in the Soviet proposal, might begin and whether this reference was to President Eisenhower's "open skies" plan. The Soviet representative, however, refused to comment further and limited himself to stating that aerial survey would come later as part of a comprehensive disarmament plan.

Both the British and the French representatives noted that the control provisions of the Soviet proposal represented an advance over previous Soviet positions, but that the total lack of provisions for nuclear weapons limitation and control was unacceptable and ignored the danger that nuclear weapons might come into the possession of additional countries. This meant that the nuclear weapons race and the intercontinental ballistics missiles race would be intensified and

the danger of war increased. The French representative said that France could not accept any conventional disarmament plan that did not include nuclear controls and called for a ban on future production of nuclear weapons. The Soviet representative expressed willingness to add proposals dealing with nuclear weapons to his March 27 plan but said that in no case would he be willing to make conventional armaments reduction dependent upon reaching agreement on nuclear controls.

Both the British and French inquired about the relationship between the conventional disarmament proposals in sections I and II of the Soviet proposal and sections III and IV which dealt mainly with German and European security problems and nuclear weapons limitations, respectively. In reply the Soviet representative stated that agreement on either set of proposals was not dependent on reaching agreement on the other, but that agreement on section III was preferred. Moreover, he made it clear that the Soviet Union envisaged reduction in forces by itself, the United States, the Chinese Communists, the United Kingdom, and France to the levels stipulated in the Soviet proposal without requiring prior settlement of outstanding major political problems, such as German unification.

The British representative, speaking for all four Western powers, rejected sections III and IV of the Soviet proposal. He noted that section III, which the Soviets alleged was based on Prime Minister Eden's Geneva proposal for the creation of a European security system, was really completely different in that Mr. Eden's proposal was to become effective only after Germany had been reunited in freedom; the Soviet proposal would only perpetuate the division of Germany. Moreover, the United Nations Disarmament Subcommittee was not the proper forum to deal with European security problems. As to section IV of the Soviet proposal, he recalled that the Soviet proposal of May 10, 1955, declared that control of existing atomic weapons was impossible; such control would be no easier in Germany than elsewhere.

FOUR-POWER DECLARATION OF MAY 4, 1956

In a declaration presented on the last day of the subcommittee session, the four Western members of the subcommittee recognized the fact that the proposals introduced by the United States, France, and the United Kingdom had not been accepted by the Soviet Union and that the differences between the four Western members and the Soviet Union had not been reconciled.

Nevertheless, they expressed their conviction that a reconciliation of the opposing points of view was possible and reaffirmed their

determination to continue their efforts, within the United Nations, to seek agreement on disarmament. To that end they declared that a developing program of disarmament should be begun without delay. This program should (1) proceed by stages with progress from one stage to the next depending upon satisfactory execution of its predecessor and upon the development of confidence through the settlement of major political problems; (2) begin with effective, internationally controlled, significant reductions in armed forces, consistent with present unsettled world conditions, with corresponding reductions in conventional arms and in military expenditure and further reductions as world conditions improved; (3) provide for a properly safeguarded and appropriately timed halt to the buildup of nuclear weapons stockpiles and the allocation of all future nuclear production for peaceful purposes; (4) provide for a strong control organ to have inspection rights, including aerial reconnaissance, to operate from the outset and develop parallel to disarmament, and to provide against major surprise attack, especially while past production of nuclear material cannot be accounted for; (5) include preliminary limited demonstrations of inspection methods to help develop an effective control system and increase the possibility of agreement; and (6) provide for partial or complete suspension of the program if a major state failed to carry out its obligations or if a threat to the peace under chapter VII of the United Nations Charter should occur.

Genuine negotiations in the subcommittee had become most difficult after the April 23, 1956, speech of Mr. Khrushchev, delivered at a dinner of the British House of Commons Labor Party members, in which he heaped scorn upon the West's proposals for the international control of armaments and totally rejected as "ridiculous" President Eisenhower's aerial inspection plan. This tended to freeze the positions of the Soviet delegation, and, at the meeting of the subcommittee on April 26, 1956, Mr. Gromyko admitted he had no new comments to make on either the Anglo-French synthesis or the United States draft working paper.

Thus, despite Soviet acceptance of ground control, including broad definition of objects of control to be in place before reductions were to begin, dropping of the Soviet "ban the bomb" prerequisite for reaching agreement on disarmament, and the Soviet representative's admission that the areas of disagreement had been made clearer, the subcommittee adjourned without reaching agreement on major differences between the Western members and the Soviet Union. The most important of these concerned (1) the need for adequate and effective inspection, especially aerial reconnaissance; (2) the need to reach political settlements—especially the reunification of Germany in freedom—in reaching agreement on a comprehensive disarmament

program; and (3) the need for a practical ceiling on worldwide nuclear weapons expansion.

United Nations Disarmament Commission Meetings July 3–16, 1956

The United Nations Disarmament Commission met on July 3, 1956, to consider the work of its Subcommittee of Five. Placed before it on the first day were a joint draft resolution introduced by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and Canada which urged the members of the subcommittee to continue their search for agreement, paying due regard to the six guiding principles of the Four-Power Declaration of May 4, 1956; a Soviet draft declaration under which all states would assume the obligation to refrain in their international relations from the use or threat of force and the use of atomic or hydrogen weapons; and a note verbale from the Indian Government concerning the cessation of test explosions of nuclear weapons.

In the course of the ensuing discussion, in which India participated as an *ad hoc* member of the Commission, two additional papers were introduced and the four-power draft resolution was amended. A Peruvian draft resolution provided for a staged reduction in conventional arms, the suspension of nuclear weapons test explosions, and the simultaneous establishment of aerial reconnaissance and ground control posts to coincide with the setting up of an international control body which would have broad powers of inspection and supervision in the nuclear field. A Yugoslav draft called upon the members of the Subcommittee of Five to seek early agreement, with such forms and degrees of control as required, on such measures as a reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces, the cessation of nuclear weapons test explosions and other nuclear measures, and a reduction of military expenditures. Australia offered an amendment to the four-power draft resolution to point out that a reconciliation of the opposing points of view was both possible and necessary, to recall the terms of the disarmament resolution adopted by the 10th General Assembly, and to mention a technical exchange mission and a demonstration test area as examples of preliminary inspection demonstrations. Australia also joined with the sponsors of this resolution in proposing an amendment to include limitation of nuclear weapons tests as part of a proposed disarmament program.

This latter amendment and the Peruvian and Yugoslav draft resolutions reflected the Commission's concern with the problem of test explosions of nuclear weapons. This problem was discussed in detail

for the first time after the Indian representative, who had been invited to participate in the discussions of nuclear testing, had advocated the suspension of such tests. He said this would make the further development of nuclear weapons impossible, solve the problem of controls since all such tests were detectable and no tests were needed; be the first step toward nuclear disarmament, solve the fourth country problem, arrest the arms race since no one would be able to produce a better bomb, improve world psychology, and please world opinion. He opposed the limitation of nuclear test explosions as a step backwards, for limitations introduced at once the problem of control, would allow additional explosions to increase the health hazard, and would condone the use of nuclear weapons and the waging of nuclear warfare. He felt the taking of symbolic steps should replace the stress upon international control, inspection, and machinery.

The French representative replied that the present rate of such tests did not constitute a hazard. All that was needed to prevent future dangers to human health was a limitation of the number, nature, and power of the explosions, i. e., controlled limitation. Banning tests would allow the three atomic powers to continue to accumulate weapons and would leave them with an atomic monopoly which France could not accept. France would have to build her own nuclear weapons unless there were controlled prohibition of their production. Bomb explosions from one kiloton to about one megaton and great underwater tests were difficult to detect but were sufficient to allow a state to pass from the production of atomic weapons to production of thermonuclear weapons. Therefore, if there were no concomitant controlled ban on the manufacture of nuclear weapons, a ban on test explosions would not prevent undetectable tests nor prevent new nuclear powers from producing nuclear weapons without testing. The French representative advocated that there soon be a limitation on the number, nature, and power of nuclear test explosions; that a ban be placed on such explosions for military purposes with a concomitant or shortly following controlled ban on the manufacture of nuclear weapons; and that nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes be permitted under the supervision of an international control organ.

Speaking for the United States, Ambassador James J. Wadsworth declared that limitations on testing must be included in a program of international safeguards and limitations of the nuclear weapon itself and upon the means of delivering it. There was no hazard to human health and safety from properly conducted tests, nor was any likely to result from a continuation of the present level of testing over a long period of time into the future; what danger was involved could be controlled. The United States and the United Kingdom gave full ad-

vance public notice of the time and location of nuclear tests, but the U.S.S.R. did not. The United States remained pledged not to use nuclear or any other weapons in any manner inconsistent with the United Nations Charter.

The United Kingdom representative stated that in order to prevent an increase over the present safe rate of testing, his government was ready to discuss a limitation and regulation of nuclear weapons test explosions in any first-stage disarmament program and would enter now a partial agreement on such limitation, without further political agreements or agreement on a comprehensive disarmament program, but only if the partial agreement were coupled with a controlled cessation of nuclear weapons production. This, he said, was the utmost that could be scientifically controlled at present. Although the cessation of all military nuclear test explosions was the goal, it would not of itself end the nuclear arms race nor solve the problem of preventing present nonnuclear powers from acquiring nuclear weapons capabilities. Representatives of Belgium, Peru, Canada, Iran, and Australia all pointed out that the cessation of nuclear weapons test explosions was part of the whole problem of nuclear weapons controls and that a controlled ban on their future production was required. The U.S.S.R., however, while advocating the cessation of nuclear weapons production and testing, continued to ignore the problem of control.

The Commission's discussion of the proposals before it and of the work of its subcommittee brought no agreement on the principal points at issue between the U.S.S.R. and the other subcommittee members. However, the Commission decided to send to the subcommittee, without vote, all the proposals submitted to it and to limit its own action to a procedural resolution which was introduced by the Peruvian representative on July 16, 1956. This resolution declared that a reconciliation of the opposing points of view was both possible and necessary, recalled the 10th General Assembly's resolution on disarmament, and requested the subcommittee to study and report on the proposals placed before the Commission. Moreover, the subcommittee was requested to take account of the principles affirmed in the four-power draft resolution, as amended, which set forth the principles upon which an effective disarmament program could be based.

Although the majority of the Commission favored the Peruvian draft resolution, the Soviet Union opposed its endorsement of the Western joint draft as a substantive and prejudicial step, and the Yugoslav representative objected that mention of the Western proposal brought a controversial subject on substance into a purely procedural resolution. Nevertheless, the Commission voted 10 to 1 (U.S.S.R.) with 1 abstention (Yugoslavia) to adopt the Peruvian draft resolution.

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Eisenhower-Bulganin Exchanges

Following the subcommittee's 1956 session, President Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Bulganin twice exchanged letters in which disarmament was discussed. A leading question in these exchanges was the role of the United Nations in future disarmament discussions.

Even during the 1956 session of the Subcommittee of Five, Mr. Khrushchev and the Soviet representative on the subcommittee had expressed doubts about the usefulness of continuing disarmament negotiations within the framework of the United Nations. They had also questioned the usefulness of seeking agreement on multilateral disarmament under effective international control and inspection as advocated by the Western powers.

This position was elaborated in letters of June 6, 1956, and November 17, 1956, from Premier Bulganin to President Eisenhower. In the former, the lack of progress in the subcommittee was decried and its future usefulness doubted. Premier Bulganin then declared that the Soviet Union had decided upon a new approach. It would now seek uncontrolled unilateral disarmament by the major powers—which, he said, would lead to conditions under which an international disarmament agreement could be concluded. To that end the Soviet Government had announced in its declaration of May 4, 1956, its intention to reduce its armed forces by 1.2 million men by May 1, 1957, in addition to the reduction of 640,000 announced in 1955. Aerial reconnaissance was again rejected and the question of nuclear controls ignored.

Premier Bulganin's letter to President Eisenhower of November 17, 1956, dealt with numerous Soviet disarmament proposals, but ignored the United Nations. Instead, an attached "Declaration" favored the convening of a conference of the heads of government of the U.S.S.R., the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and India as proposed on November 6, 1956, by the President of the Swiss Confederation. Premier Bulganin held that such a conference could prepare the way for a wider disarmament conference in which all NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, plus Communist China, India, Yugoslavia, Indonesia, and Burma would participate. If such a five-power meeting were not convened, Premier Bulganin declared his Government would consider calling the larger conference in any case.

President Eisenhower, in his letter of August 4 to Premier Bulganin, welcomed the Soviet Government's May 14 announcement of reductions in its armed forces, but doubted that such unilateral reductions would contribute effectively to eliminate the fear and the vast cost generated by national armaments. There was an obvious need of international supervisory mechanisms and controls to encourage greater reductions. The President said tension would be reduced

and great surprise attack guarded against if the Soviet Union would accept his proposals for aerial survey and the exchange of military blueprints made first at Geneva in 1955 and his March 1, 1956, proposal for control of the production of future fissionable material. The President observed that reductions of armed forces in Germany could not be made in isolation and that Soviet action since Geneva indicated that the Soviet Government intended to maintain indefinitely the division of Germany. Moreover, the President made it clear in his letter of August 4, 1956, that the United States did not share the derogatory view of the United Nations Disarmament Subcommittee held by the Soviet Union. He believed the subcommittee's discussions had shed light on the difficult problem and had helped narrow the gap between the different points of view.

The President made this point again in his letter of December 31, 1956, replying to Premier Bulganin's letter of November 17, 1956. He declared his readiness to agree to a meeting of heads of government as suggested by the President of the Swiss Confederation and proposed by Premier Bulganin, whenever circumstances made it seem likely that the meeting could accomplish a significant result. President Eisenhower felt, however, that in the highly complicated matter of disarmament deliberations within the framework of the United Nations appeared most likely to result in a step forward; accordingly, the United States would make further proposals there.

The declaration sent by Mr. Bulganin to the President on November 17, 1956, during the Soviet Union's military campaign against Hungary, proposed that within 2 years the United States, the Soviet Union, and the Chinese Communists reduce their armed forces to 2.5 million men in one year and 1 million to 1.5 million the second year, France and the United Kingdom reduce to 750,000 men the first year and 650,000 the second year, and other states reduce to 150,000 to 200,000. Also proposed was an immediate ban on testing, production, and use of nuclear weapons, as well as destruction of nuclear stockpiles and elimination of nuclear weapons from all armaments.

The Soviet declaration also advocated the reduction of military forces in Germany, NATO and Warsaw Pact countries, liquidation within 2 years of all foreign bases, and conclusion of a nonaggression pact between NATO and Warsaw Pact countries. On controls, it contained only the generalized provisions which the Soviet Union had already presented.

The declaration's one new feature was the statement that the Soviet Union "is prepared to consider the question of using aerial photography in the area in Europe where basic military forces of the North Atlantic Pact are located and in countries participating in the Warsaw Pact to a depth of 800 kilometers to the East and West from the line

of demarcation of the above-mentioned military forces, if there is agreement of the appropriate states."

At the meeting of the Disarmament Commission on December 20, 1956, to prepare its annual report to the General Assembly and Security Council, the U.S. representative, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, welcomed this apparent Soviet willingness to consider aerial inspection. He declared that the United States continued to seek agreement on a sound, safeguarded disarmament agreement with efficient inspection, would study the proposals of all governments on this subject, and would itself take further initiative to that end.

This was confirmed in President Eisenhower's letter of December 31, 1956, to Premier Bulganin. In this letter the President pointed to the contrast between the compliance with the resolutions of the General Assembly by the parties in dispute in the Middle East and the attitude of the Soviet Union toward the General Assembly's resolutions on Hungary. He further pointed to the contrast between NATO, whose aim was collective defense, and Moscow's open threats of military action against Western countries.

On disarmament the President wrote that the Soviet Union's apparent willingness to consider aerial inspection as a positive factor in disarmament was hopeful. But he noted the apparent Soviet refusal to accept the basic element of his Geneva proposal which called for aerial inspection of the centers of Soviet and United States military power to avert surprise attack. The President stated that in its search for a just and durable peace the United States was giving all Soviet disarmament proposals careful study and was prepared to discuss them, as well as further U.S. proposals, in the forthcoming meetings of the United Nations Disarmament Subcommittee.

The Eleventh General Assembly

The agenda item on disarmament at the 11th General Assembly was discussed in the Political Committee from January 14–25, 1957. On January 14 Ambassador Lodge reaffirmed that the United States would continue to seek a sound and safeguarded disarmament agreement within the framework of the United Nations. The United States was ready and willing, he said, to take any sound steps toward arms reduction so long as they were subject to effective inspection and control, for an uninspected or an inadequately controlled agreement could not serve peace.

Ambassador Lodge expressed the view that the negotiations in the Subcommittee of Five should seek to reverse the trend toward larger nuclear weapons stockpiles and thus to reduce the nuclear threat, to safeguard against great surprise attack, to lessen the bur-

den of armaments and improve the standards of living, to insure that research and development activities concerning the propulsions of objects through outer space be devoted exclusively to scientific and peaceful purposes, and to ease tensions and facilitate the settlement of difficult political issues.

To meet these objectives the United States proposed in a memorandum of January 14, 1957, that:

1. An agreement be reached under which, at any early date, under effective international inspection, all future production of fissionable materials would be used or stockpiled exclusively for nonweapons purposes under international supervision, after which reliable moves could be made to reduce existing nuclear weapons stockpiles and to transfer large amounts of fissionable material to peaceful uses.

2. Following the establishment of such control on future production of fissionable material, it would be possible, in a secure manner, to limit and ultimately to eliminate all nuclear test explosions. Pending such agreement the United States would agree to work out promptly methods for advance notice and registration of all nuclear tests and, also, to provide for limited international observation of such tests.

3. There would be a first-stage reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces, using as a basis of measurement the levels of 2.5 million for the United States and the Soviet Union and 750,000 for France and the United Kingdom, concurrent with the progressive establishment of an effective inspection system which must include aerial reconnaissance and ground units. Reductions beyond the first stage would depend upon the settlement of major political problems.

4. The testing of objects propelled through outer space should be under international inspection and participation as a first step toward the objective of assuring that future developments in outer space be devoted exclusively to peaceful and scientific purposes.

5. There must be safeguards against great surprise attack through the progressive installation of inspection systems.

Ambassador Lodge proposed that an international agency for the regulation of armaments be installed concurrently with the beginning of the proposed disarmament program and declared that the United States was willing to execute, either as an opening or as a later step, the complete Geneva proposal of President Eisenhower for aerial inspection.

In a lengthy and vituperative attack on the United States and other Western powers, the Soviet representative repeated Premier Bulganin's proposals of November 17, 1956, to President Eisenhower. He made no new proposals on the problem of control and denounced the

Western view that political settlements were inseparable from comprehensive disarmament. He introduced draft resolutions to (1) ban without control the testing of nuclear weapons, and (2) instruct the Disarmament Commission to convene a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. He called the Subcommittee of Five and the Disarmament Commission ineffective and proposed a draft resolution under which Egypt, India, Poland, and a Latin American member would be added to the Disarmament Commission and India and Poland added to the subcommittee.

The U.S. proposals were favorably received as both practicable and sincere. The U.S. initiative in proposing early agreement on control of outer-space objects and effective international control of future fissionable materials production was especially welcomed by the United Kingdom, Canada, Italy, New Zealand, and Norway. Many speakers in the debate, including the British, French, and Canadian representatives, emphasized the importance of control. Almost all of them agreed with Ambassador Lodge that the partial approach to disarmament continued to be the realistic approach and with the Yugoslav suggestion that appropriate controls should be instituted with each measure taken.

The problem of nuclear weapons test explosions received much attention at the 11th General Assembly. The British representative said that although the limitation and prohibition of nuclear weapons testing should be part of a comprehensive disarmament program, the United Kingdom would consider the possible limitation of tests outside the context of such a program. France, its representative stated, could accept limitation on the testing of nuclear weapons without regard to their prohibition, but would agree to the prohibition of their testing only if linked to a ban on their production. Canada, Japan, and Norway introduced a draft resolution on this subject by which the General Assembly would (1) recommend that the states concerned give urgent attention to the setting-up of a system of nuclear test explosion registration with the United Nations as a preliminary step toward eventual prohibition of nuclear weapons through progressive stages; and (2) request the Secretary-General and the United Nations Radiation Committee to cooperate with the states concerned in the operation of such a system with a view to keeping the total and expected radiation in the world under constant observation.

Although this proposal was considered inadequate by the Soviet bloc, Ceylon, India, Syria, and some others, it was regarded by most as a helpful and practical first step. Ambassador Lodge declared the United States would support the joint draft resolution when it came before the subcommittee and expressed the hope for early agreement and establishment of nuclear test registration. The representa-

tive of Denmark commented that, while everyone wanted to go much further to the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, this would immediately raise the question of control and nothing would be done. It was better to take small steps rather than merely talk about great ones. Representatives of Belgium, Egypt, the Netherlands, and New Zealand thought that although the proposal was a limited first step, it had the merit of being immediately practicable.

The Soviet proposal for calling a special session of the General Assembly to deal with disarmament was termed premature by Ambassador Lodge. The United States would, however, he said, be willing to have the Disarmament Commission consider the advisability of recommending such an Assembly at an appropriate time after agreement had been reached among the major armed powers. Similar views were expressed by the representatives of China, France, Iceland, Iran, Iraq, Italy, and New Zealand.

The Soviet proposal that the Disarmament Commission and its Subcommittee of Five be enlarged was supported by the Soviet bloc, Egypt, Iran, and India but was not favorably received by many members. Our representative stated that enlargement of the Disarmament Commission should await enlargement of the Security Council and noted further that other members of the United Nations could be invited to present their views to the Commission. He pointed out that the composition of the subcommittee was based on the sound principle that agreement in the first instance must be among the major armed powers. Similar views were expressed by the representatives of the United Kingdom, France, and New Zealand.

The Political Committee decided not to put any of the foregoing proposals to the vote. Instead it agreed to vote only on a procedural resolution sponsored by Australia, Brazil, Canada, El Salvador, France, India, Japan, Norway, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Yugoslavia. This resolution requested the Disarmament Commission to reconvene its subcommittee at an early date. It recommended that these organs give prompt attention to the various proposals submitted to the United Nations by Canada, Japan, and Norway; the United Kingdom and France; the United States; the Soviet Union; India; and Yugoslavia and give continued consideration to the Eisenhower plan for the exchange of military blueprints and mutual aerial inspection and the Bulganin plan for the establishment of control posts at strategic centers. The resolution also recommended that the Disarmament Commission request its subcommittee to prepare a progress report for the Commission by August 1, 1957, and invited the Commission to consider the advisability of recommending that a special session of the General As-

sembly or a general disarmament conference be convened at the appropriate time. This resolution was adopted unanimously by the Political Committee on January 25, 1957.

It was adopted by the General Assembly on February 14, 1957, by a vote of 76 to 0. At the same time Ambassador Lodge pledged that the United States would redouble its efforts to achieve agreement on the very crucial question of control during the forthcoming negotiations and emphasized that the U.S. disarmament proposals were not conditional upon reaching the solution of any political problems.

INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

Progress was made during 1956 toward the establishment of an International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) which originally had been proposed by President Eisenhower on December 8, 1953, before the General Assembly of the United Nations. The statute of the Agency, which was approved by the Conference on the IAEA on October 26, 1956, sets out its objectives in article II as follows:

> The Agency shall seek to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health and prosperity throughout the world. It shall ensure, so far as it is able, that assistance provided by it or at its request or under its supervision or control is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose.

The agreement reached on the text of a statute followed lengthy and complicated negotiations, first among a group of 12 governments which met in Washington during the late winter 1955 and spring of 1956 and finally at the conference to draft a statute held in New York in the fall of 1956. The Preparatory Commission of the IAEA began to function in New York immediately upon the conclusion of the conference.

Working Level Meeting

The working group of eight states that prepared an initial draft statute for the prospective Agency in August 1955 (the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, South Africa, Australia, Belgium, and Portugal) was expanded to 12 when the U.S.S.R., Brazil, Czechoslovakia, and India were invited to participate. This group convened in Washington on February 27, 1956, and after 18 sessions unanimously adopted a new draft of the statute on April 18. Throughout the meetings all participants exhibited a willingness to cooperate and, as a result of intensive negotiation and compromise,

were able to reach agreement. The U.S. delegation to these meetings was led by Ambassador James J. Wadsworth, Deputy U.S. Representative to the United Nations, who had been appointed the U.S. Representative for Atomic Energy Negotiations on January 26, 1956, to succeed Ambassador Morehead Patterson who had resigned on November 30, 1955.

The basic work of the meetings was to consider, article by article, the August 1955 draft, taking into account the views of some 48 governments which had submitted comments in writing.

One of the most difficult problems facing the working group was to find a formula that would satisfy all parties for the composition of the Board of Governors, the body that is to carry out the major functions of the Agency. The original emphasis had been on a small board made up mainly of those making major contributions in material or technical assistance. On the other hand, a number of states insisted upon a larger board with wider geographic representation. Numerous proposals were put forward officially and in private consultations, and a compromise based on an Indian suggestion was finally adopted. This provides for a board of about 23 members, 13 of whom are to be designated by the outgoing board on a basis of levels of advancement in the atomic energy field, but taking into account considerations of geographic distribution. Ten more will be elected by the General Conference to provide equitable representation of all areas of the world.

Another difficult problem proved to be the drafting of provisions dealing with safeguards against diversion of Agency assistance to military uses. The Indian delegation advanced the following proposals designed to reduce the scope of the safeguards as outlined in the August 1955 draft:

(1) rights to enforce safeguards should be derived from each agreement with a recipient country, rather than from the statute itself;

(2) recipients of Agency assistance should not be held accountable for source materials supplied; and

(3) the recipient government should be allowed to retain fissionable material produced as a byproduct of Agency-assisted projects rather than returned to the Agency for safekeeping.

These proposals were not accepted, however, and in fact the safeguard provisions were clarified by further elaboration and specification of the rights and responsibilities of the Agency and its staff of inspectors.

Other changes produced at the working level meeting included:

(1) provision for reports to the U.N. General Assembly and other U.N. bodies as appropriate;

(2) expansion of the powers of the General Conference;

(3) clarification of the procedures for handling the materials made available to the Agency;

(4) elaboration and improvement of procedures for approval and implementation of projects to be carried out with Agency assistance; and

(5) clarification of the financial provisions of the statute.

The amendments to the August 1955 draft suggested by the Soviet Union were extensive and many of them, if adopted, would have greatly reduced the potential significance and role of the new Agency. They would have allowed the Agency to handle and store only token quantities of fissionable materials, limited the budget contribution of any one member to 15 percent, and provided for U.N. control and supervision of Agency activities. In the process of negotiations these restrictive proposals were withdrawn, compromised, or rejected.

At the end of the working level meeting the Soviet delegate, Ambassador Zaroubin, suggested that a vote be taken on the statute as a whole so that all could vote for it, in spite of certain reservations on details. In this way the members of the group could unanimously support the statute for submission to a later conference and at the same time seek certain amendments.

The United States did not make any reservations since the statute as revised was satisfactory to it. However, reservations were entered by four delegations—Australia, Czechoslovakia, India, and the U.S.S.R. Some of the Soviet suggestions, which had been unacceptable to the working group, were entered as reservations—(1) membership on the Board of Governors for Red China; (2) putting a ceiling on the Agency budget; (3) insistence on protection of sovereign rights even to an extent that might hamper the carrying out of agreements voluntarily entered into; (4) requiring a three-fourths rather than a two-thirds majority for amendments to the statute; and (5) making decisions of the General Conference binding on the Board of Governors. Czechoslovakia entered reservations identical to those of the U.S.S.R. India entered the three proposals on the statute safeguard provisions that the working group had not accepted as reservations, and, in addition, a reservation on the composition of the Board of Governors, maintaining that Western Europe was overrepresented. Australia reserved its position on the referral of disputes to the International Court of Justice on the ground that the language of the statute was ambiguous and should be replaced with wording that would clearly provide for compulsory jurisdiction of the Court over disputes.

Three subsequent meetings were held in June at which the working group approved its report and agreed on the text of an invitation to the Conference on the Statute for the IAEA. The United States was

authorized to issue the invitation, on behalf of the group, to 87 governments, members of the United Nations or the specialized agencies, and to nine specialized agencies. The invitation, issued on July 6, 1956, enclosed two copies of the revised statute, the report of the working group, a list of participants, a list of the reservations, and an agenda and rules of procedure for the Conference.

In preparation for the Conference, the United States consulted with some 63 governments, in addition to members of the working group, urging them to attend the Conference, explaining its position on the more controversial issues and soliciting their support for the statute as revised.

Conference on the Statute of the IAEA

Representatives of 81 governments and 7 specialized agencies actually participated in the Conference which convened at U.N. headquarters in New York on September 20, 1956, to discuss, approve, and open for signature the statute for the IAEA. Ambassador Wadsworth was chairman of the U.S. delegation which included Senators John W. Bricker and John O. Pastore, Representatives W. Sterling Cole and Paul J. Kilday, and several political and technical advisers from the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission. Ambassador Muniz of Brazil was elected president of the Conference and Ambassador Winkler of Czechoslovakia, vice-president. U.N. Secretary-General Hammarskjold served as Secretary General of the Conference, and the U.N. Secretariat provided the necessary services.

After the election of officers and adoption of the agenda and rules of procedure, 13 meetings were devoted to opening remarks and general debate. Then the Conference met as a Main Committee, with all states attending the Conference participating, to consider the statute, article by article. Over 100 amendments had been submitted affecting all but six articles of the statute. Sixty of these were voted on and 30 finally adopted.

The functions of the Agency, listed in article III, were the subject of the largest number of amendments. Some of the less advanced countries in the atomic energy field wanted to add to the list of specific projects that the Agency could undertake, but general agreement was reached to give the Agency a broad grant of authority under which it could engage in activities as necessary. However, a provision for the Agency to encourage the training of scientists and experts in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy was added. A clause was also added that would enable the Agency to apply its safeguard system to the atomic energy activities of any state so requesting.

The underdeveloped nations expressed special interest in such subjects as the composition of the Board of Governors, the relationship of the board to the General Conference, and the financing of atomic development programs. It was argued that the composition of the Board of Governors gave a dominant position to leaders in the atomic energy field, whereas the countries that would have the greatest use for Agency assistance were underrepresented. The 12 sponsoring powers, however, maintained that the formula included in the draft statute was the most practicable and equitable solution possible. It was pointed out that lengthy and complex negotiations on this subject had taken place at the working level meeting and that the entire compromise worked out at that time would be jeopardized if changes were made, even in one category. At the conclusion of the debate, which served to clarify the provisions of the article, the language of the statute as submitted to the Conference was finally approved.

There was also considerable criticism of the distribution of authority between the General Conference, on which all Agency members are represented, and the Board of Governors on which only approximately 23 states would be represented. Amendments were accepted that increased and clarified the powers of the Conference, although the board remains the locus of power for the conduct of day-to-day Agency activities.

Some of the smaller nations, especially the Latin American, wished to have the Agency assist in financing projects that might otherwise be beyond the means of the poorer countries. This issue was resolved by providing that the Agency would, upon request, "assist any member or group of members to make arrangements to secure necessary financing from outside sources to carry out such projects." A Soviet attempt to restrict the future development of the Agency by eliminating its borrowing power and restricting the financing of Agency facilities to voluntary contributions only was decisively defeated.

Perhaps the most controversial provision of the statute was article XII outlining the Agency safeguards. A group of African and Asian delegations, led by India, charged that the language of the draft statute would allow the atomic powers to control, through the Agency, the economic development of the atomic "have-nots" by establishing Agency hegemony over the use made of Agency-supplied source materials and special fissionable materials, as well as byproducts of such materials. India, Egypt, Ceylon, and Indonesia sponsored amendments to article XII that would have eliminated accountability for source materials and permitted stockpiling by assisted nations of byproduct material. Lengthy discussions were held, both formally in the Main Committee and informally in private, to demonstrate the absolute necessity of adequate safeguards to prevent diversion of

Agency assistance from peaceful uses and to clarify the language of the article so as to avoid any implication of economic control.

An amendment was proposed by the United States, the United Kingdom, and Canada that made it clear that the accountability of a receiving government related to source material used or produced in Agency projects. The question of the accountability for byproduct material was the subject of a French-Swiss amendment which incorporated language from the above three-power draft and was finally accepted by India and its cosponsoring states. This formulation specifies that in approving the means to be used for chemical processing, at which time byproduct material is isolated, the Agency is to use only two criteria—to insure that diversion to military purposes will not be facilitated and that health and safety standards are met. Furthermore, special fissionable materials produced in Agency-assisted projects may be retained by the member or members concerned for use, under continuing safeguards, for research or in reactors existing or under construction specified by them. The Agency also has the right and responsibility to require that any excess materials over what is needed for these purposes be deposited with the Agency in order to prevent stockpiling of materials.

Misgivings about the extent of Agency powers over the nuclear development of members seeking assistance were further allayed by the acceptance of other Swiss amendments, one of which specifies that the Agency is to "examine" the design of reactors and other equipment and base its approval on only three factors—to insure that it does not further any military purpose, that it complies with standards of health and safety, and that it permits effective application of safeguards.

Soviet efforts to seat Red China at the Conference and allow its admission to the Agency as an initial member were defeated. French concern over a restrictive definition of "military purposes" was satisfied by a statement for the record that Agency assistance could be used in the application of atomic energy to propulsion. A Polish proposed amendment that expressed concern lest Agency agreements impinge on the sovereignty of members was defeated.

After the Main Committee had concluded its article-by-article review of the statute, the Coordination Committee, consisting of the 12 sponsoring delegations, reviewed the text as revised in order to insure internal consistency in terminology and style. The statute was unanimously approved by the Conference in its final plenary session on October 23. Annex I to the statute, which was approved at the same time, established a Preparatory Commission and its terms of reference. The Commission consisted of 12 sponsoring governments elected by the Conference and Argentina, Egypt, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan, and

Peru. The Conference also passed a resolution expressing its preference for Vienna as the site of the Agency headquarters.

The final session of the Conference on October 26 was opened with a significant message from the President of the United States read by Lewis Strauss, Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. On the completion of a successful Conference, and as a demonstration of its wholehearted support, the United States took this occasion to announce that it will make available to the Agency, on terms to be agreed upon, 5,000 kilograms of uranium 235 and would make available additional amounts to match the sum of materials supplied by all other members of the Agency for the period from the establishment of the Agency through July 1, 1960. This is the only substantial offer of materials made thus far. The other offers were those by the Soviet Union of 50 kilograms and by the United Kingdom of 20 kilograms. Representatives of 70 countries, including the 12 sponsoring states, then filed up to the rostrum to sign the statute, which would remain open for further signatures for 90 days. By January 24, 1957, the close of this period, an additional 10 nations had signed and thereby may become initial members of the Agency. With the ratification of the statute by 18 nations, including any three of the leading atomic powers (the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, and the U.S.S.R.), the Agency comes into existence.

Preparatory Commission

The Preparatory Commission held its first meeting on the day the statute was opened for signature, October 26. Carlos Bernardes of Brazil was elected president and Pavel Winkler of Czechoslovakia as vice-president. Proceeding immediately with its work, the Commission requested a loan of $200,000 from the United Nations, asked its president to set up a committee of five (the United States, the United Kingdom, U.S.S.R., India, and Belgium) to assist in preparing a report on the establishment of a headquarters for the Agency and decided to establish a Working Committee of the Whole to carry on discussions dealing with the Agency's program. On December 15 the Commission appointed Paul Jolles of Switzerland to serve as its Executive Secretary. At the same time the Executive Secretary was empowered to recruit a staff, administer funds, and make arrangements for the first meeting of the General Conference and Board of Governors. He was also requested to draft working papers on financial rules and regulations, staff rules and regulations, a headquarters agreement, an agreement on relationship with the United Nations, and other administrative arrangements for the Agency.

ATOMIC RADIATION

Following the U.S. suggestion that the United Nations would be the appropriate agency to collect, assemble, and disseminate, on an international basis, information on atomic radiation and its effect on human health and safety, the General Assembly in December 1955 at its 10th session adopted a resolution establishing the 15-member Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation. The members appointed to this committee were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States. The resolution requested the committee to assemble, review, and collate reports received from members of the United Nations and the specialized agencies on (1) the observed levels of radiation in the environment and (2) scientific observations and experiments relevant to the effects of radiation on man and his environment. To facilitate the international exchange of information on this subject, the committee was requested to recommend uniform standards on procedures for sample collection and instrumentation and radiation counting procedures to be used in analyses of samples. Finally, the committee was asked to submit a yearly progress report and by July 1, 1958, to report a summary of the information it had collected.

The committee was designed to be nonpolitical in nature, and each member was asked to appoint a scientist as its representative. Dr. Shields Warren of the New England Deaconess Hospital is the U.S. representative on the committee; Dr. Austin Brues of the Argonne National Laboratory and Merril Eisenbud of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission are the two alternates.

First Meeting

The committee held its first meeting at U.N. headquarters from March 14 to March 23, 1956. In addition to the 15 members, 5 specialized agencies were represented—Food and Agriculture Organization, International Labor Organization, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, World Health Organization, and World Meteorological Organization. Dr. C. E. Eddy of Australia was elected chairman and Professor Carlos Chagas of Brazil as vice-chairman.

In detailed technical discussions the committee surveyed the scientific problems involved in carrying out the mandate of the General Assembly. The committee organized itself as a working group of the whole for this purpose, with one or two of the representatives serving

as rapporteur on each subject. Seven topics were discussed in this manner: genetics, the effects of irradiation by internally absorbed isotopes, the effects of external radiation, natural radiation background, exposures during medical procedures, occupational exposure, and environmental contamination. In two of these fields, natural radiation background and environmental contamination caused by man-made radioactivity, the committee requested the submission of reports by members of the U.N. on preliminary measurements.

The committee decided to distribute information on known procedures of measurement of fallout and to study and compare these procedures in the hope that internationally acceptable standards could be achieved as quickly as possible. It also asked the Secretary-General to expand the staff of the committee temporarily in order to carry out detailed technical work in preparation for its meetings.

During the first session of the committee, the United States offered technical assistance in the establishment of fallout collection stations, training in methods of analysis, and the processing of samples in AEC laboratories on behalf of other countries. In the course of the year the United States distributed materials for the establishment of at least 34 fallout stations to 10 countries.

The United States was the first country to respond to the committee's request for scientific information relevant to its work. On June 12, 1956, it transmitted the report "The Biological Effects of Atomic Radiation," based on a study by the National Academy of Sciences. Other governments soon followed suit, and by the time the committee met in October for its second session 50 reports had been submitted by 24 governments and one specialized agency.

Second Meeting

The second meeting of the committee was held from October 22 to November 2, 1956, again at United Nations headquarters. Dr. Carlos Chagas of Brazil was elected chairman to fill the unexpired term of Dr. Eddy of Australia who had died during the summer. Professor Zenon Bacq of Belgium was elected vice-chairman.

The committee again organized itself into a working group to discuss four technical matters: (1) review of radiological data submitted by governments; (2) methods of measuring natural and man-made radiation; (3) biological effects of small doses of irradiation; and (4) disposal of radioactive wastes in the seas and oceans.

The radiological data that had been submitted to the committee was tabulated by the Secretariat. The committee noted that, although there are gaps in information and minor divergencies between countries, there is, in broad outline, substantial agreement

among these reports. In discussions of man-made sources of radiation, as distinguished from natural sources, the most important source was observed to come from medical use of x-rays for diagnostic and therapeutic purposes. The committee invited the International Commission for Radiological Protection (ICRP) to propose procedures to be used to arrive at more accurate data on the doses received by different parts of the body as the result of medical use. All reports submitted on radiation from fallout, although showing some difference both in basic data and in the meaning assigned to it, indicate that fallout now makes a minor contribution to dose rates. However, radiation from this source may be expected to increase with time.

After its discussion of measurement methods, the committee expressed the opinion that collection of material by gummed paper and gauge is suitable to augment the determination of fallout by the pot-collection method. The committee recommended that radiochemical analysis be required for determination of strontium 90 in the following: bones; calcium contributors in human diet; water, soil, and herbage; human urine; and fallout as obtained by the pot-collection method. In connection with these measurements, the committee noted the importance of relevant measurements of calcium and natural strontium content. It was recommended that countries with suitable facilities should attempt measurements of strontium 90 and cesium 137 in the stratosphere. In this regard several members expressed appreciation of the U.S. assistance received in the establishment of fallout collection stations.

The committee continued to study the problem of the biological effects of small doses of ionizing radiation because of the part they play in the assessment of the real hazards to the human race from exposure to low levels of radiation and in the development of procedures that might serve as early indicators of abnormal levels of radiation. In particular, it was considered important to find an indicator of somatic effects that will be sensitive enough to permit an assessment of the genetic hazards. Fundamental radiobiological research on this subject by the different countries was encouraged by the committee.

Although the large-scale disposal of radioactive wastes into the ocean is not likely to be a problem for years, the committee decided to undertake the collection of scientific and technical data which, if this method of disposal is proposed, will enable the adoption of procedures to confine the hazards to acceptable levels. For this purpose the committee invited governments to report annually to the United Nations all significant sea and ocean disposals of industrial radioactive nuclides, along with relevant information on such topics as oceanography and marine biology.

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The committee postponed discussion of the genetic effects of radiation until its next session since little information had thus far been submitted on this question. In connection with its discussion of the medical use of x-ray as the largest source of man-made radiation, the committee prepared letters to the general and radiological medical press of all countries urging care and conservatism in medical uses with particular attention to the protection of the gonads and seeking the cooperation of the medical profession in making possible an estimate of the total radiation received by the germinal tissue of the population before and during the child-bearing age.

The United States submitted seven reports on various aspects of the radiation problem to the committee by the end of 1956. This contribution, supplemented by our offer of assistance to other governments in the collection and analysis of information, has clearly demonstrated our intentions to facilitate the work of the committee. Other governments have acknowledged the importance of U.S. leadership in this field.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AND OTHER EFFORTS TO IMPROVE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The crises of the Middle East and in Hungary late in the year were the principal focal points of United Nations efforts in 1956 to encourage and assist the peaceful settlement of disputes. Throughout the year, moreover, the situation in the Middle East was a matter of serious concern, with relations between Israel and its Arab neighbors continuing to deteriorate and with Egypt's seizure of the Suez Canal. The year brought little change in other situations and disputes before the United Nations, with two exceptions. The emergence of Tunisia and Morocco as independent states in March 1956 marked the solution of two problems that had been the subject of General Assembly discussion at a number of sessions in previous years.

Middle East

ENFORCEMENT OF THE GENERAL ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS

Relations between Israel and the Arab States of Egypt, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon continued during 1956 to be governed by the

bilateral general armistice agreements concluded in 1949. Under these agreements, differences between the signatories are usually handled by the four Mixed Armistice Commissions provided for in those agreements. However, in 1956 Security Council consideration was necessary in a number of cases involving Israel on the one hand and Egypt, Jordan, or Syria on the other.

Syrian Complaint

When 1956 opened, the Security Council was debating a complaint lodged with it by Syria following the attack on December 11, 1955, by a large Israeli military force across the Syrian-Israeli demilitarized zone into Syrian territory northeast of Lake Tiberias. Israel had explained its action as retaliation for an unprovoked attack by Syrian batteries on an Israeli patrol boat the previous day. The Security Council first met on December 16, 1955, to consider the Syrian complaint.

The Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, General Burns, had described the Israeli action as a deliberate violation of the provisions of the general armistice agreements, including those relating to the demilitarized zone. He pointed out the "striking disparity between the scale of the retaliation and the provocation which was cited by the Israeli Government." General Burns added that this provocation would hardly appear to be the sole cause of the retaliatory action when viewed in the light of the differences between the two parties regarding the demilitarized zone and the resulting paralysis of the Mixed Armistice Commission machinery.

During the debate on January 12, 1956, the U.S. representative, Ambassador Lodge, recalled that on three previous occasions over the 2 preceding years Israel had been called before the Council for similar offenses and warned Israel that another transgression would compel the Council to consider what further measures under the Charter would be required to maintain or restore the peace. Ambassador Lodge stated that the United States had given most careful thought to the wisdom of calling upon Israel to pay compensation, as had been proposed by the Syrian delegate. While not disagreeing with the principle of compensation, the United States had concluded it would be unwise to propose such a course without the existence of any established means for carrying it out. He suggested that it might be desirable to request the Secretary-General by a separate resolution to study ways and means of equitable assessment and payment of compensation. In conclusion Ambassador Lodge said that such incidents only resulted in a deterioration of the situation in Palestine, and that the United States

had made serious representations to Israel pointing out the imprudence—from Israel's own standpoint—of the action Israel had taken.

On January 19 the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution cosponsored by France, the United Kingdom, and the United States which held that Syrian interference with Israeli activities on Lake Tiberias in no way justified the Israeli action; reminded Israel that the Council had already condemned military action in breach of the armistice agreements, whether or not undertaken by way of retaliation, and had called upon Israel to take effective measures to prevent such actions; condemned the attack as a flagrant violation of the cease-fire provisions of the resolution of July 15, 1948, of the terms of the Israeli-Syrian armistice agreement, and of Israel's obligations under the Charter; expressed its grave concern at Israel's failure to comply with its obligations and called upon it to do so in the future, in default of which the Council would have to consider what further measures under the Charter would be required to maintain or restore the peace; called upon the parties to comply with their obligations under the armistice agreement with respect to the armistice demarcation line and the demilitarized zone; requested the Chief of Staff to pursue his suggestions for improving the situation in the area of Lake Tiberias and to report to the Council as appropriate on the success of his efforts; called upon the parties to arrange for an immediate exchange of all military prisoners; and called upon both parties to cooperate with the Chief of Staff in all respects to carry out the provisions of the armistice agreements in good faith and, in particular, to make full use of the Mixed Armistice Commission's machinery in the interpretation and application of its provisions.

Deterioration of Conditions Along the Armistice Demarcation Lines

On March 20, 1956, the United States requested an urgent meeting of the Security Council to examine the deteriorating situation along the Arab-Israeli armistice demarcation lines that threatened the maintenance of peace and security in the Palestine area. In making this request the United States expressed deep concern over the buildup of armed forces in apparent disregard of the armistice agreements, violations of the armistice lines which were occurring at a dangerous rate, and the failure of all parties to agree to proposals that had evolved from previous Security Council resolutions.

First Security Council Action

The Security Council convened on March 20. The United States submitted a draft resolution on that day which requested the Secretary-General (1) to undertake, as a matter of urgency, a survey of the various aspects of enforcement of and compliance with the armistice agreements and the Council's resolutions of March 30 and September 8, 1955, and of January 19, 1956; (2) to work out with the parties measures to reduce tensions along the armistice lines, including withdrawal of forces, full freedom of movement for observers along the armistice demarcation lines and in the demilitarized zones and defensive areas, and establishment of local arrangements for the prevention of incidents and a prompt detection of armistice violations; and (3) to report to the Security Council within a month the results of his survey.

In view of the seriousness of this situation, the U.S. representative, Ambassador Lodge, urged that the draft resolution be considered and voted upon without delay. In answer to queries raised by several Arab representatives, Ambassador Lodge explained that the U.S. draft resolution envisaged measures to be taken entirely within the framework of the armistice agreements and that they would apply where, in the opinion of the Secretary-General and the parties, conditions warranted them. He emphasized the importance of full compliance with the armistice agreements as the essential first step in restoring peaceful conditions in the Near East. The representatives of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria welcomed the Secretary-General's proposed mission and expressed their desire to cooperate with him fully. On April 4, the Security Council unanimously adopted the U.S. draft resolution. The Soviet representative cast an affirmative vote despite his attempt, during the debate, to amend the resolution in a manner that, in the opinion of the majority of the members, would have served no purpose.

Secretary-General's Report

From April 10 to May 3 the Secretary-General visited the Middle East. His mission coincided with a heightening of border tension, particularly in the Egyptian-Israeli sector. As one of his first undertakings in the area, the Secretary-General obtained from all of the parties an agreement on an unconditional cease-fire, subject only to the right of self-defense. In his report of May 9 to the Security Council he stated that the cause for the state of noncompliance was not to be found in an unwillingness on the part of the Governments to carry out their obligations under the armistice agreements, but could be explained both by political and practical circumstances and

by uncertainty on the part of the parties about the scope of their obligations under the armistice agreements. Noteworthy among the extenuating circumstances, he said, was the fact that in many cases the demarcation lines established by the armistice agreements had no basis in history or in the distribution of population or of private property. Reprisals against incursions, he explained, might not take place if there were assurances that infiltrators acted without instigation or approval by the authorities and that the authorities had taken active countermeasures, including appropriate punishment, for incursions. More settled conditions along the lines could be achieved, he pointed out, if the armistice agreements were complied with fully and if there were created a spirit of less distrust between the parties.

The Secretary-General reported agreement on a number of proposals. Israel and Egypt had given their assurances of a willingness to comply fully with articles VII and VIII of the armistice agreement (relating to the demilitarized zone and defensive areas), but only within the framework of a full return to the conditions envisaged in the armistice agreement. The two Governments agreed to an arrangement providing for the setting up of observation posts on either side of the demarcation line, free access to these posts by U.N. observers, and patrols by the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) along the demarcation line. The parties also concurred in a plan for marking the demarcation line and gave their consent to plans for the separation of their armed forces. Israel's consent was qualified in such a way that, in the words of the Secretary-General, it fell short of the firmer arrangements the Chief of Staff had proposed and the Secretary-General and the Security Council had endorsed. Both parties agreed to the erection of a physical obstacle along the demarcation line. A proposal for better observation and control machinery in both Israeli- and Syrian-controlled territory in the area of Lake Tiberias was accepted by Syria but rejected by Israel on the grounds that it would infringe upon its sovereignty. The Secretary-General also reported progress in the matter of a local commanders' agreement between Jordan and Israel.

In summary, the Secretary-General reported that, given the scope of his mandate, he had devoted all of his attention to the limited task of reestablishing first of all a cease-fire and, based on the cease-fire, a state of full compliance with the armistice agreements. He pointed out that the success of these initial steps toward the solution of the main issues between the parties would depend primarily on the good will and actions taken by the parties directly concerned in whose hands rested the initiative for an improvement in the situation.

On May 29 the Security Council met to consider the Secretary-General's report. During the debate a number of members noted

that the tranquil conditions along the demarcation lines resulting from the cease-fire offered the Security Council an opportunity to review the overall Arab-Israeli problem and to consider additional measures that might further reduce the risk of incidents and thus further reduce tension.

In commenting on the Secretary-General's mission, Ambassador Lodge said that the speedy carrying out of the proposals agreed upon would pave the way to agreement on other issues.

Second Security Council Action

On June 4, the Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution proposed by the United Kingdom which, in commending the Secretary-General and the parties on the progress achieved, declared that the parties should speedily carry out the measures agreed upon and cooperate in putting into effect further practical proposals that might be suggested by the Secretary-General and the Chief of Staff of the UNTSO pursuant to the resolution of April 4. The resolution also stressed the importance of allowing full freedom of movement to the U.N. observers as provided for in the armistice agreements, reiterated that the reestablishment of full compliance with the armistice agreements must be a prerequisite to progress in resolving the main issues between the parties, and requested the Secretary-General to continue his good offices with the parties with a view to the full implementation of the April 4 resolution and full compliance with the armistice agreements and to report to the Security Council as appropriate.

The vote was taken after the United Kingdom had withdrawn a preambular paragraph from its draft which would have referred to the need of creating conditions in which a peaceful settlement of the dispute on a basis mutually acceptable to the parties could be made. The inclusion of this paragraph had been opposed by the Arab representatives present who held that it dealt with matters that went beyond the scope of the April 4 resolution and therefore could not appropriately be considered in the context of the April 4 resolution.

Despite the efforts of the Security Council, border tension, particularly in the Egyptian-Israeli and Israeli-Jordanian sectors, continued throughout the summer, and on September 27 the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that none of the parties had used the opportunities provided by the quiet prevailing after the cease-fire agreements to work toward the establishment of peaceful conditions. In general he noted that the parties had failed to take adequate steps to forestall border incidents and that, in specific instances, they were ignoring their obligations under the armistice agreements. Short of full and earnest cooperation from the governments in the region, he said, it was impossible to bring the disturbances along the armistice

demarcation lines to an end. He warned that the incidents might release a chain of events such as those that were prevailing at the time of the cease-fire arrangement in April.

Jordanian Complaint

In fact the incidents assumed an increasingly serious nature and culminated in the Israeli raids in the Jordanian sector on Wadi Fukin and Husan on the night of September 25 and on Qalqiliya on the night of October 10. At the request of Jordan the Security Council was convened on October 19 to consider the situation. During the debate the Jordanian representative stated that the Israeli action against Qalqiliya could not be described as a border incident but was, in fact, an act of war. He said that the Israeli Government, by its organized military operations against Arab villages, was destroying the very foundation of the armistice agreement. With reference to the resolution of January 19, 1956, he called upon the Security Council to apply sanctions against Israel under article 41 of the United Nations Charter. The Israeli representative placed full blame for the situation on Jordan explaining that Israel had acted in self-defense in the face of unceasing Jordanian attacks. He presented a long list of border incidents as evidence of Jordanian provocation and promised that Israel would not attack if it were not molested. The consensus of the members of the Council was that the Israeli retaliatory action was not justified by the circumstances and that Jordan had evidenced considerable self-restraint in the face of the attacks from Israel. The debate was cut short by the events that stemmed from the invasion of Egyptian territory on October 29.

EGYPTIAN SEIZURE OF THE SUEZ CANAL COMPANY

Following the seizure of the Suez Canal Company by the Government of Egypt on July 26, 1956, the governments representing the major users of the canal sought a solution to the problem of the future operation of the canal that would assure the benefits of the canal to all nations while recognizing legitimate Egyptian interests.

From July 29 to August 2 the representatives of France, the United Kingdom, and the United States met and decided that a solution should first of all be sought by the 24 nations principally concerned, including Egypt. All of these countries, except Egypt and Greece, met at London from August 16 to 23. From this conference there emerged an 18-power formula for settlement which, it was believed, should be acceptable both to Egypt and to the nations that are users of the canal. A Committee of Five Nations under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister of Australia traveled to Cairo to communicate this

proposal to the Government of Egypt. Egypt rejected it as a basis for negotiation and offered no counterproposal. The 18 governments that had sponsored the proposal believed that, even though Egypt might not then be willing to agree upon a permanent solution, there might be some practical association between the users of the canal and the Egyptian Canal Authority. The 18 governments therefore set up a cooperative Suez Canal Users Association on September 21, 1956, which, acting as their agent, could work with the Egyptian canal authorities. Egypt, however, refused to recognize the Users Association as representative of the users of the canal.

Security Council Consideration

Following these attempts to negotiate a settlement with Egypt, France and the United Kingdom requested a meeting of the Security Council to consider the "Situation created by the unilateral action of the Egyptian Government in bringing to an end the system of international operation of the Suez Canal, which was confirmed and completed by the Suez Canal Convention of 1888." Thereupon, Egypt, referring to the Franco-British military buildup that had been proceeding in the Eastern Mediterranean, requested that the Security Council urgently be convened to consider "Actions against Egypt by some powers, particularly France and the United Kingdom, which constitute a danger to international peace and security and are serious violations of the Charter of the United Nations."

When the Security Council met on September 26, both the British and French and the Egyptian items were placed on the agenda to be considered in the order in which they had been presented. The significance attached to the problem was indicated by the fact that six Foreign Ministers took part in the 11-member Security Council meetings on the Suez Canal.

The debate in the Council indicated that a number of members believed that, while the special interest of Egypt in the canal must be recognized by virtue of the fact that the canal runs through Egyptian territory, at the same time, the canal is of such importance to the economies of the world and had been given an international character under the Convention of 1888, that freedom of navigation in the canal as embodied in that convention must be maintained. Criticism of the Egyptian action centered on the abrupt manner in which the canal had been seized, in the words of Foreign Minister Spaak of Belgium, "without prior warning, without consultation and in a spirit of retaliation and defiance." Both the manner in which Egypt had seized the Canal Company and the history of Egyptian noncompliance with the Security Council resolution of September 1, 1951, with regard to freedom of navigation through the canal, with

particular reference to Israeli ships and Israel-bound cargoes, had, it was felt, lessened confidence in Egypt's ability to manage the canal and to maintain the principles embodied in the Convention of 1888. Expression was given to the need for some safeguard against a recurrence of events such as those that had led to the Suez crisis and against the adoption of a unilateral position on the canal in the future.

The position taken by France and the United Kingdom was reflected in a draft resolution that those two nations cosponsored. This draft resolution set forth the following five actions that it was proposed the Security Council take: (1) reaffirm the principle of freedom of navigation in accordance with the Convention of 1888; (2) affirm the necessity for safeguarding the rights and guarantees that all users of the canal enjoyed under the system upon which the convention was founded; (3) endorse the 18-power formula for settlement which had already been presented to Egypt by the committee representing the governments at the London Conference; (4) recommend that Egypt negotiate on the basis of this formula and thus cooperate in working out an effective system of operation for the canal; and (5) recommend to Egypt that, in the interim, it cooperate with the Suez Canal Users Association.

In the Council Egypt maintained its right to nationalize the canal. At the same time, it recognized the validity of the principle of the freedom of navigation in the canal. It proposed that the problem be submitted to a negotiating body which should be guided by this and other basic principles and which would have specified objectives including the following: (1) to establish a system of cooperation between the Egyptian authority operating the canal and the users of the canal, taking into full consideration Egypt's sovereignty and Egyptian rights and the interests of the users of the canal; (2) to establish a system for the tolls and charges that guarantees for the users of the canal fair treatment free from exploitation; (3) to provide for a reasonable percentage of the revenues of the canal to be allotted particularly for improvements. The Soviet Union proposed that the problem be handled by a committee of the Security Council, the composition of which "should be balanced in such a way as to prevent in advance the prevalence of any one point of view."

The United States was represented by Secretary of State Dulles, who reviewed the efforts by the nations that had been deeply aggrieved and endangered by Egypt's seizure of the canal to seek a solution by negotiations or other peaceful means and in conformity with the principles of justice and of international law. With regard to the legal aspect of the problem, Secretary Dulles pointed out that the canal is an international waterway dedicated to the free passage of the

vessels of all nations and not a purely internal affair of Egypt. The canal's character as an international right-of-way was guaranteed by the Convention of 1888, and Egypt could not rightfully stop any vessel or cargo from going through the canal.

The principles enunciated by the 18 powers at the London Conference formed the basis for a just solution of the problem, Secretary Dulles added. The most essential of these principles was that the operation of the canal should be insulated from the influence or politics of any nation. If the canal may be used as an instrument of national policy by any government that physically controls it, he explained, the canal is bound to be an international bone of contention. The principles that had been stated by the 18 powers were so patently just that the Council should unhesitatingly accept them. The type of mechanism used to give them effect was of relatively minor importance. The problem confronting the Council, he summed up, was that of dealing concurrently with peace and justice, as required by the Charter. The Egyptian proposal that a negotiating body be set up was similar to the suggestion advanced by the 18 powers. If Egypt should accept the essential principle that the operation of the canal should be insulated from national politics, it appeared that subsidiary problems could easily be solved. The usefulness of any negotiating body, the Secretary explained, would depend on acceptance of this principle. The United States endorsed the draft resolution sponsored jointly by France and the United Kingdom as embodying the necessary basic principles.

The Six Principles

A number of Council members had expressed the view that public meetings did not seem to offer the best atmosphere for the type of negotiations and discussions called for in an attempt to solve the problem. Accordingly, the Security Council held three private sessions before resuming public meetings on October 13.

It was apparent from the statements made on that day that considerable progress had been achieved as a result of the private meetings. France and the United Kingdom offered a new draft resolution which, Foreign Minister Lloyd explained, had been formulated after a series of meetings among the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, France, and the United Kingdom under the auspices of the Secretary-General.

The draft resolution set out the following six requirements to be met in any settlement of the Suez Canal question: (1) there should be free and open transit through the canal without discrimination, overt or covert; (2) the sovereignty of Egypt should be respected; (3) the operation of the canal should be insulated from the politics of

any country; (4) the manner of fixing tolls and charges should be decided between Egypt and the users; (5) a fair proportion of the dues should be allotted to development; and (6) unresolved affairs between the Suez Canal Company and the Egyptian Government should be settled by arbitration with suitable terms of reference and suitable provisions for the payment of sums found to be due. The draft resolution also stated that the 18-power proposals correspond to the six requirements listed above and were suitably designed to bring about a settlement by peaceful means in conformity with justice. The resolution then noted that Egypt had not yet formulated precise proposals and invited it promptly to make known its suggestions for a system meeting the six basic requirements and providing guarantees to the users not less effective than those sought by the proposals of the 18 powers. A final provision in the resolution stated that, pending the conclusion of negotiations for a definitive settlement, the Suez Canal Users Association, qualified to receive the dues payable by ships belonging to its members, and the Egyptian authorities should cooperate to insure the satisfactory operation and use of the canal in accordance with the Convention of 1888.

The Foreign Minister of Egypt gave his Government's concurrence in the six requirements, expressing certain reservations on the wording but not on the principle of the third requirement, which requires that the canal be insulated from the politics of any country. After indicating that the third requirement gave scope for contradictory interpretations, he expressed the belief that the canal could best be insulated from politics by an internationally binding commitment in the form of a reaffirmation or renewal of the Convention of 1888. He opposed the remainder of the draft resolution as likely to throw the canal question into politics.

Secretary of State Dulles noted with gratification that a measure of agreement had been reached between the Foreign Ministers of Egypt, France, and the United Kingdom and expressed his support of the draft resolution which he characterized as "an honest attempt to advance our pursuit of peace and justice through the next stage." He pointed out that the scope of the resolution was broad enough to admit consideration of any alternative proposals Egypt might submit that met the six basic requirements.

When the draft resolution was put to a vote on October 13, the first part, setting forth the six requirements for a settlement of the Suez question, was passed unanimously. The Soviet Union vetoed the remainder of the draft. Before the Security Council adjourned, Secretary of State Dulles expressed the general understanding that the Council remained seized of the Suez Canal matter and that the Secretary-General might continue to encourage interchanges between the Governments of Egypt, France, and the United Kingdom.

Secretary-General's Efforts

Consequently, during the following week, the Secretary-General pursued his discussions with the Egyptian Foreign Minister in order further to explore and clarify means of finding a solution to the Suez problem in conformity with the requirements approved by the Security Council. These exchanges of view were embodied in a letter Secretary-General Hammarskjold addressed to the Foreign Minister on October 24. From the Foreign Minister's reply, dated November 2, there was apparent a broad area of agreement between Egypt and the Secretary-General which extended to acceptance of the principle of organized cooperation between the Egyptian authority and the users of the canal. The Foreign Minister did not, however, accept that part of the letter relating to an enforcement procedure for arbitration awards in instances where unresolved differences would be submitted to arbitration and where there would be alleged noncompliance with the arbitral decision.

On November 3 the United States presented to the special emergency session of the General Assembly, which had been called because of the Suez crisis, a draft resolution which would have set up a committee of three to develop recommendations looking toward a permanent solution to the canal problem consistent with the Convention of 1888 and with the six requirements adopted by the Security Council on October 13. The United States did not press this resolution to a vote, however, since the United Nations attention as it concerned the Middle East was concentrated on the Franco-British and Israeli military operations against Egypt. Discussions between the Secretary-General and the parties on the future operation of the Suez Canal were suspended for the remainder of the year.

THE SUEZ CRISIS: ESTABLISHMENT OF A U.N. FORCE AND CANAL CLEARANCE

Consideration by the Security Council

During the last days of October 1956, it became apparent that military mobilization of unusual proportions was taking place in Israel. President Eisenhower addressed two personal appeals to Prime Minister Ben-Gurion urging that Israel not undertake any action against its Arab neighbors and pointing out that there was no reason to believe those neighbors had taken steps justifying Israel's mobilization. Nevertheless, on October 29 the Israel Defense Forces invaded Egypt.

After consultation with France and the United Kingdom, the other parties to the Tripartite Declaration of 1950, the United States requested an immediate meeting of the Security Council to consider "The Palestine Question: Steps for the immediate cessation of the military action of Israel against Egypt."

When the Security Council met on October 30, Secretary-General Hammarskjold read reports from the Chief of Staff of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization for Palestine confirming that Israeli troops had crossed the international frontier and were occupying positions in the Sinai. The Secretary-General also reported that the Chief of Staff had ordered a cease-fire and the withdrawal of Israeli troops. There had not been compliance with these orders, and U.N. personnel had been expelled from the Israeli-controlled El Auja demilitarized zone which had been mined.

Ambassador Lodge, speaking in behalf of the United States, declared, "The Government of the United States feels that it is imperative that the Council act in the promptest manner to determine that a breach of the peace had occurred, to order that the military actions undertaken by Israel cease immediately, and to make clear its view that the Israeli armed forces be immediately withdrawn behind the established armistice lines." Failure of the Council so to react, he said, would be a clear avoidance of its responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. Anything less than seeing that peace and stability be restored forthwith in the Palestine area, he concluded, would be an invitation to disaster in that part of the world.

The United States introduced a draft resolution which called on Israel immediately to withdraw its armed forces behind the armistice lines and which further called upon all members to refrain from the use or threat of force in the area, to assist the United Nations in insuring the integrity of the armistice agreements, and to refrain from giving any military, economic, or financial assistance to Israel so long as it had not complied with the resolution. The Secretary-General was asked to keep the Security Council informed on compliance and to make appropriate recommendations for the maintenance of international peace and security in the area.

The Egyptian representative said that the Israeli action was an unprovoked attack in violation of the armistice agreements, Security Council resolutions, and the United Nations Charter. He expressed confidence that the Security Council would declare Israel an aggressor and apply appropriate sanctions against it and that the Council would recommend to the General Assembly that Israel be expelled from the United Nations. The Israeli representative asserted that his Government had acted in self-defense for the purpose of eliminating Egyptian commando bases in the Sinai Peninsula.

The United Kingdom representative then informed the Security Council that the Governments of France and the United Kingdom had that day called upon both Egypt and Israel to stop all warlike action forthwith and to withdraw their military forces to a distance of 10 miles from the Suez Canal. In order to separate the belligerents and guarantee freedom of transit through the canal for ships of all nations, France and the United Kingdom had requested Egypt to permit Anglo-French forces to move temporarily into Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez. Egypt and Israel were given 12 hours in which to answer the request, failing which British and French forces would intervene in whatever strength might be necessary to secure compliance. The United Kingdom representative said there was no action the Security Council could constructively take to stop the fighting and to safeguard free passage through the Suez Canal. He urged that the United States withdraw its draft resolution which, he said, would hinder rather than assist in furthering the objectives of the Security Council.

When the U.S. draft was put to a vote, France and the United Kingdom, both permanent members of the Council, cast negative votes. The resolution therefore failed of adoption. Thereupon, the Soviet Union presented a draft resolution based on the first article of the U.S. draft which had called for an Israeli withdrawal. The Soviet draft, however, was not adopted, due again to the negative votes of France and the United Kingdom.

On the evening of October 31 President Eisenhower broadcast to the American people explaining U.S. policy with regard to events in the Middle East and in Hungary. Speaking of the Middle East, the President recalled that the situation arising from the underlying Israeli-Arab animosity had been aggravated by Egyptian policy, including Egypt's rearmament with Communist weapons and its seizure of the Suez Canal Company. Relations between Egypt, Israel, and France had deteriorated to a point at which Israel, then France, and finally Great Britain had determined that there could be no protection of their vital interests without resort to force. The United States had not been consulted about any of these actions, nor was the United States informed of them in advance. "We believe these actions to have been taken in error," he said, "for we do not accept the use of force as a wise or proper instrument for the settlement of international disputes." The President pointed out that he was fully aware of the anxieties of Israel, of Britain, and of France, which had been subjected to grave and repeated provocations. However, their action could scarcely be reconciled with the principles and purposes of the United Nations to which all had subscribed. It was the dedicated purpose of the U.S. Government, he said, to do all in its power to localize the fighting and to end the conflict. To this end the United States had taken the issue to the United Nations with a request that

the forces of Israel return to their own land and that hostilities in the area be brought to a close. The President expressed the hope that, with this proposal blocked in the Security Council by the negative votes of Great Britain and France, the matter would be brought before the General Assembly where there was no veto and where "the opinion of the world can be brought to bear in our quest for a just end to this tormenting problem."

In view of the inability of the Security Council to act, the Yugoslav representative on October 31 proposed in the Council a draft resolution calling for an emergency special session of the General Assembly as authorized by the Uniting for Peace resolution adopted in 1950 by the Assembly at its fifth session. This resolution provides that when the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, has been unable to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, the Assembly may meet within 24 hours to consider the matter. British and French objections that the proposal was out of order were overruled. The Council then adopted the Yugoslav resolution by a vote of 7 (China, Cuba, Iran, Peru, U.S.S.R., U.S., Yugoslavia) to 2 (France, United Kingdom), with 2 abstentions (Belgium, Australia). Consideration of the military actions against Egypt was thereupon transferred from the Security Council to the General Assembly.

Consideration by the First Emergency Special Session of the General Assembly

The General Assembly met in its first emergency special session on November 1, 1956.

Secretary of State Dulles' Address

The United States was represented by Secretary of States Dulles who addressed the Assembly during the evening of November 1. He doubted that any representative had ever spoken to the United Nations with such a heavy heart. The United States found itself unable to agree on a matter of vital importance with three nations for which it had deep friendship, admiration, and respect. Two of these nations constituted its oldest and most trusted allies. Because this disagreement involved fundamental principles, the Secretary felt impelled to make the U.S. point of view known to the Assembly and, through it, to the world. The United States fully recognized the long and sad history of irritations and provocations behind the attack on Egypt, but, serious as these provocations might be, the United States had concluded that they could not justify the resort to armed force.

Secretary Dulles recalled that many peaceful steps had been taken in an effort to solve the Middle Eastern problems since Egypt had seized the Suez Canal. Surely, Secretary Dulles said, the peaceful processes that the Charter requires every member of the United Nations to follow had not been exhausted. In the circumstances, he said, "the violent armed attack by three of our members upon a fourth cannot be treated as other than a grave error, inconsistent with the Principles and Purposes of the Charter, and one which if persisted in would gravely undermine our Charter and undermine this organization."

Secretary Dulles proposed that the Assembly adopt a resolution that would (1) urge all parties involved in hostilities to agree to an immediate cease-fire and, as part thereof, to halt the movement of military forces and arms into the area; (2) urge the parties to the armistice agreement promptly to withdraw all forces behind the armistice lines, to desist from raids across the lines into neighboring territory, and to observe scrupulously the provisions of the armistice agreement; (3) recommend that all members refrain from introducing military goods into the area of hostilities and in general refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent the implementation of the resolution; (4) urge that, upon the cease-fire becoming effective, steps be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and restore secure freedom of navigation; (5) request the Secretary-General to observe and promptly report on compliance with the resolution to the Security Council and to the General Assembly for such further action as they might deem appropriate in accordance with the Charter; and (6) decide to remain in emergency session pending compliance with the resolution.

Secretary Dulles expressed the hope that out of the tragedy there should come something better than merely a restoration of the conditions from which the tragedy arose. In this connection he said, "there needs to be something better than the uneasy armistices which have existed now for these 8 years between Israel and its Arab neighbors; there needs to be a greater sense of confidence and security in the free and equal operation of the canal than has existed since 3 months ago when President Nasser seized the Suez Canal Company."

During the early hours of November 2 the Assembly adopted the U.S. draft resolution by 64 votes to 5 (Australia, France, Israel, New Zealand, the United Kingdom), with 6 abstentions (Belgium, Canada, Laos, the Netherlands, Portugal, the Union of South Africa).

The following day the United States circulated two draft resolutions dealing with the substance of the more long-range problems that had given rise to the critical situation in the Middle East. The first called for the termination of the Palestine Conciliation Commission

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which was to be replaced by a committee composed of five members of the General Assembly charged with preparing recommendations, after consultation with the parties to the general armistice agreements, on the settlement of the major problems outstanding between the Arab States and Israel. The draft resolution furthermore urged the parties directly concerned to cooperate fully with the Truce Supervision Organization in carrying out its task and to render all possible assistance in caring for and insuring the safety of the Arab refugees.

The second draft resolution offered a means for finding a solution to the Suez Canal question by setting up a committee to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council, as appropriate, on recommendations for a just and permanent settlement.

The U.S. representative pointed out that the two proposed resolutions provided an opportunity to make a start toward a solution of two of the gravest issues threatening world peace. However, they dealt with long-range questions and obviously would require study, and the United States did not therefore press its two draft resolutions to a vote.

Proposal for United Nations Force

The Assembly met during the night of November 3 at the request of the Egyptian representative who reported that, on the night of October 31, joint French and British forces opened their attack on Egypt. These attacks continued, he pointed out, despite the General Assembly's resolution of November 2. The Indian representative expressed his Government's disappointment that there had not been compliance with the November 2 resolution. On the contrary, he noted, fighting had intensified, and the Suez Canal had been closed and oil pipelines in the Middle East had been cut. India, together with 18 other nations of Asia and Africa, submitted a draft resolution which sought to remedy the situation. The 19-power draft resolution again called upon the parties immediately to comply with its provisions; authorized the Secretary-General immediately to arrange with the parties for the implementation of the cease-fire and the halting of the movement of military forces and arms into the area; requested him to secure, with the assistance of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization, the withdrawal of all forces behind the armistice lines; and decided that the Assembly should meet again upon receipt of the Secretary-General's report. The 19-power resolution was adopted on November 4 by 59 votes (U.S.) to 5, with 12 abstentions.

In explaining his abstention on the earlier November 2 resolution, the Canadian representative had said that obtaining a cease-fire and withdrawal of forces would not be sufficient. He noted that the U.K. representative had already told the Assembly that his country and

France would welcome action by the United Nations to stop the hostilities and to assume the physical task of maintaining peace in the area. The Canadian representative had then expressed the hope that the Secretary-General could be authorized "to begin to make arrangements with member states for a United Nations force large enough to keep these borders at peace while a political settlement is being worked out. . . . My own Government," he added, "would be glad to recommend Canadian participation in such a United Nations force, a truly international peace and police force."

Secretary Dulles had told the Assembly at that time that both he and President Eisenhower shared the Canadian representative's views and invited the Canadian delegation to introduce a concrete suggestion for the establishment of such a force. On November 3 the Secretary-General reported that the United Kingdom and France had informed him that they would halt their military action if, among other conditions, both the Egyptian and Israeli Governments would agree to accept a U.N. force to keep the peace, and the United Nations would decide to constitute and to maintain such a force until an Arab-Israeli peace settlement and a Suez Canal settlement were reached, both settlements to be guaranteed by the United Nations. On that day the Canadian representative introduced a draft resolution which, as amended by the representative of India, was adopted on November 4 by a vote of 57 (U.S.) to 0, with 19 abstentions. This proposal, which received strong support from the United States, requested the Secretary-General as a matter of priority to submit a plan for the establishment, with the consent of the nations concerned, of an emergency international U.N. force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of the resolution of November 2.

On the evening of November 4 the Secretary-General reported to the General Assembly that Norway and Colombia had accepted participation in the projected force and that consultation with other members was continuing. He recommended the immediate establishment of a U.N. command for an emergency international force to operate under the terms of the resolution of November 2. This force would be headed by Maj. Gen. E. L. M. Burns, Chief of Staff of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organization, who would be authorized to recruit officers from the staff of the Truce Supervision Organization and to recruit officers directly from member states, so long as they were not drawn from countries that were permanent members of the Security Council. The Secretary-General said he would plan the recruitment of contingents of troops from countries not permanent members of the Security Council and suggested that he should be authorized to take the necessary administrative measures. These recommendations were embodied in a draft resolution submitted by

Norway, Canada, and Colombia, which called for the establishment of the U.N. Emergency Force to supervise the cessation of hostilities in accordance with all the terms of the resolution of November 2.

Ambassador Lodge called for immediate suspension of the debate and adoption of the resolution. He stated, "It is important that this plan should be speedily carried out. To facilitate the success of its operation, the United States is prepared to help—and help in an important way—as regards air-lifts, shipping, transport and supplies."

The resolution was adopted by the Assembly during the early hours of November 5 by a vote of 57 (U.S.) to 0, with 19 abstentions.

Conclusion of Cease-Fire

The resolutions passed by the Assembly on November 2 and 4 had requested the Secretary-General to obtain the compliance of France, Israel, and the United Kingdom with the recommendations specified in those resolutions. By November 3 the Secretary-General had informed the Assembly that Egypt had accepted the provisions of the November 2 resolution "on the condition . . . that it could not implement the resolution in case attacking armies continue their aggression." He also reported, as already noted, that France and the United Kingdom had notified him that they would stop military action under certain specified conditions relating to the establishment of a U.N. force. Egypt and Israel should agree to the stationing of Anglo-French troops between them pending the establishment of the U.N. force, the British and French Governments added. The Israeli agreement to a cease-fire, conditional upon Egypt's acceptance of a cease-fire, was conveyed to the Assembly the following day. On November 6 the cease-fire went into effect. In reporting this to the Assembly, the Secretary-General called attention to a statement made by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion that "on no account will Israel agree to the stationing of a foreign force, no matter how called, in her territory or in any of the areas occupied by her." While this position would not affect the cease-fire arrangements, the Secretary-General pointed out, it would seriously complicate the task of giving effect to the resolution of November 2.

Soviet Efforts To Intervene

While the Secretary-General was concluding the arrangements for the cease-fire, the Soviet Union had requested the Security Council to meet on November 5 to discuss "Noncompliance by the United Kingdom, France and Israel with the decision of the emergency special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations of 2 November 1956 and immediate steps to halt the aggression of the aforesaid States against Egypt." At that time the Soviet Union

presented a draft resolution which called for the immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of British, French, and Israeli troops from Egypt and called upon all member states, and in particular the United States and the U.S.S.R., to give military and other assistance to Egypt if the United Kingdom, France, and Israel failed to carry out the resolution.

The Security Council decided against inscription of the Soviet item on the agenda by a vote of 3 (Iran, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia) to 4 (Australia, France, United Kingdom, United States), with 4 abstentions (Belgium, China, Cuba, Peru).

In commenting on the Soviet request, Ambassador Lodge stated that, coming on top of the "butchery which Moscow was in the process of carrying out against the people of Hungary under cover of so-called 'negotiations'," it set a "somber record of cynicism and indifference to the values of international morality."

Establishment of United Nations Force

With the conclusion of the cease-fire, there remained the task of obtaining agreement on the withdrawal of French, Israeli, and United Kingdom troops, to which the Assembly then turned its attention.

On November 7 the Assembly considered a number of reports from the Secretary-General, including a second one prepared in response to the resolution of November 4 concerning a United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF). The Secretary-General's report interpreted it to be the Assembly's intention that the force should be a temporary one, the length of its assignment being determined by the needs arising out of the then current conflict and that the force should not influence the military or political balance in the area. The Secretary-General observed that the force could function only with the consent of the countries contributing troops and the countries on whose territory it was stationed. Under the resolution of November 2 the force would have the function, while a cease-fire was being established, to enter Egyptian territory with the consent of the Egyptian Government, in order to help maintain quiet during and after the withdrawal of non-Egyptian troops, and to secure compliance with the other terms established in that resolution in an area extending roughly from the Suez Canal to the armistice demarcation lines established in the armistice agreement between Egypt and Israel. Its commander would be appointed by the United Nations and would be ultimately responsible to the General Assembly and/or the Security Council. Its size would be determined by its functions. The Secretary-General recommended the use of self-composed units of battalion strength and a choice of units to provide balanced composition. He further recommended that the Assembly establish a small Advisory Committee on UNEF

to help in exploring many of the problems which by necessity had to be left open for later determination.

That same day the Danish representative proposed a draft resolution, cosponsored by Argentina, Burma, Ceylon, Ecuador, Ethiopia, and Sweden, which would complete the establishment of the U.N. force authorized by the Assembly's resolution of November 5. The resolution endorsed the Secretary-General's report as a whole and in particular those parts dealing with the guiding principles and the functioning of the force; provided for the immediate organization of the force; established an Advisory Committee composed of representatives of Brazil, Canada, Ceylon, Colombia, India, Norway, and Pakistan, with the Secretary-General as chairman, to assist in the planning for the force and its operation; and decided that the Advisory Committee should be empowered to request the convening of the General Assembly and to report to the Assembly on urgent and important matters.

A second draft resolution was presented to the Assembly by the representative of Ceylon, acting in behalf of 19 African and Asian states, which reiterated the call of previous resolutions to France, Israel, and the United Kingdom to withdraw their forces and requested the Secretary-General to report to the Assembly on compliance with the resolution.

The U.S. representative noted that, with the achievement of the cease-fire, the first objective of the Assembly had been reached and that efforts should be directed toward the second objective—the withdrawal of armed forces. This withdrawal, he said, should be phased with the speedy arrival of the UNEF and should begin as soon as possible. He gave his support to the draft resolution proposed by Denmark as well as that presented by Ceylon.

The United Kingdom representative also supported the Danish draft resolution and expressed his Government's hope that the presence of the force in the area would help bring about an acceptable settlement of the Palestine and Suez Canal problems and that the force would remain in the area until those problems were solved. The United Kingdom could not, he said, accept the 19-power resolution which called for the immediate withdrawal of British and French forces. If those forces were withdrawn before a U.N. force were able to arrive and take control, he said, the separation of the parties would break down, the risk of hostilities between them would be revived, and the U.N. force might arrive too late to prevent a new conflagration.

During the evening of November 7 the Assembly adopted the Danish resolution by 64 (U.S.) votes to 0, with 12 abstentions (Egypt, Israel, the Soviet bloc, Union of South Africa), and the Ceylonese resolution by a vote of 65 (U.S.) to 1 (Israel), with 10 abstentions.

The Secretary-General had announced that day that General Burns was in contact with Anglo-French military headquarters on Cyprus and with Egypt and Israel to permit the entry of UNEF observers into the area of military operations. The same day Ambassador Lodge informed the Secretary-General that the United States was prepared to transport the first contingents of UNEF from their home bases immediately.

On November 8 the Secretary-General met with U.S. authorities and with representatives of Canada, Colombia, Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, whose offers of troops had been accepted. The Secretary-General confirmed the appointment of General Burns as Chief of the United Nations Command and received a message from the Foreign Minister of Israel that her Government would "willingly withdraw its forces from Egypt immediately upon the conclusion of satisfactory arrangements with the United Nations in connection with the emergency international force." The Secretary-General accepted an Indian contingent on November 9 and a Yugoslav contingent on November 12. Actual movement of UNEF troops began on November 10 when the U.S. Air Force began to airlift Danish, Norwegian, and Colombian troops to Naples, Italy, where they were to be picked up later by Swissair.

Negotiations with Egypt and Israel concerning UNEF's entry into the area of military operations continued. On November 12 the Secretary-General announced that he had reached an agreement with Egypt concerning the arrival of UNEF forces there and the first UNEF troops, 50 Norwegians and 45 Danes, arrived in Egypt on the night of November 14–15 at Abu Suweir airport, which became UNEF's first base in Egypt.

Since no final arrangement had yet been made with the Government of Egypt concerning UNEF, the Secretary-General flew to Cairo where he arrived on November 16 and began discussions which resulted in an agreement, described below, on the basis for the presence and functioning of UNEF in Egypt.

Meanwhile UNEF continued its buildup so that by November 22, 869 UNEF troops from the Norwegian, Swedish, Colombian, Danish, Indian, and Yugoslavian contingents were in Egypt, including a company at Port Said. By that time the United States had airlifted 1,060 to Naples, and the Royal Canadian Air Force and the Italian Air Force had established a shuttle service from Naples to Abu Suweir. During this formative period, Ambassador Lodge also informed the United Nations that, "In the interests of implementing the decision of the General Assembly with as much speed as possible, the United States is prepared to furnish without delay to the United Nations, under the terms of the United Nations Participation Act of

1945 as amended, services and supplies essential to the Emergency Force for the fulfillment of its mission."

Consideration by the Eleventh General Assembly

It had become clear that the first emergency special session would not have completed consideration of the Middle East crisis by the time the 11th regular session of the General Assembly convened on November 12. Accordingly, the U.S. representative proposed a resolution that would place on the agenda of the Assembly's 11th regular session, as a matter of priority, the question on the agenda of the Assembly's first emergency special session. He explained that this would also enable the Assembly to consider at an early date the two draft resolutions on Palestine and Suez that the United States had presented on November 3. The United States did not, however, wish consideration of these long-range factors to interfere with the cease-fire, the withdrawal of troops, and the entry of the international force. The U.S. resolution was adopted by the special session on November 10 by a vote of 66 to 0, with 2 abstentions.

When the 11th session of the General Assembly met in plenary on November 13, it adopted a recommendation from its General Committee that the "question considered by the first emergency special session of the General Assembly from 1 to 10 November 1956" be included in its agenda.

Withdrawal of Forces

This question was taken up by the Assembly on November 23, shortly after the return of the Secretary-General from a trip to Cairo, undertaken in order to discuss with the Egyptian authorities various problems including those relating to the presence and functioning of the UNEF in Egypt. As a result of these discussions, the Secretary-General reported, agreement had been reached on the following three points covered in an aide memoire which summarized the discussions he had had in Cairo: (1) in dealing with the presence and functioning of UNEF, Egypt would be guided, in good faith, by its acceptance of the Assembly's resolution of November 5; (2) the United Nations reaffirmed its willingness to maintain UNEF until it had completed its task; (3) Egypt and the United Nations would proceed forthwith "to explore jointly concrete aspects of the functioning of UNEF" and "to expedite in cooperation the implementation of guiding principles arrived at as a result of that joint exploration." The contents of the Secretary-General's aide memoire were noted with approval by the Assembly in a resolution adopted on November 24 by a vote of 65 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions.

At the same time the Assembly considered a report from the Secretary-General on the status of the withdrawal of troops. He reported that he had been informed by the governments concerned that no significant withdrawal of British forces had taken place, that approximately one-third of the French forces deployed on November 7 had been withdrawn, and that there had been a withdrawal of Israeli forces for varying distances along the entire Egyptian front. All three governments had agreed to a complete withdrawal only upon the satisfactory functioning of UNEF. The "satisfactory arrangements" that Israel sought were "such as would insure Israel's security against the recurrence of the threat or danger of attack, and against acts of belligerency by land or sea."

In clarifying its position to the Secretary-General, Israel stated that its dispositions on matters affecting its security would be influenced by a knowledge of Egypt's policy and intention with respect to belligerency or peace with Israel. In this connection Israel recalled that it had received no reply to the following questions which were among those on a list it had requested that the Secretary-General put to Egypt on November 4 at the time the cease-fire was being negotiated: (1) Did Egypt maintain it was in a state of war with Israel? (2) Was Egypt prepared to negotiate peace with Israel? (3) Did Egypt agree to end the economic boycott against Israel and lift the blockade of Israeli shipping in the Suez Canal? (4) Did Egypt undertake to recall the commandos under its control in other Arab countries?

The continuing presence of some British, French, and Israeli troops was a matter of concern to the Assembly. On November 24 it adopted, 63 (U.S.) to 5, with 10 abstentions, a resolution sponsored by 20 African and Asian states which noted with regret the limited compliance with the resolutions of November 2 and 7, reiterated the call to the three states to comply forthwith with the resolutions, and requested the Secretary-General to report without delay to the General Assembly on implementation of the resolution.

During the debate the U.S. representative, in expressing approval of the aide memoire referred to in the Secretary-General's report on UNEF, said that the carrying out of the general principles laid down by the General Assembly concerning the nature and functions of the force was both delicate and urgent. He noted the progress made, starting with the cease-fire, and urged the withdrawal of French, British, and Israeli forces without delay, along with the phased arrival of UNEF in adequate strength.

By December 3 the Israeli forces had withdrawn to a line almost 30 miles from the Suez Canal. On that date France and the United Kingdom notified the Secretary-General that, with the arrival in

Egypt of an effective U.N. force, the allied commander had been instructed to work out with the U.N. commander a timetable for the complete withdrawal of French and United Kingdom forces. In communicating these notices to the General Assembly, the Secretary-General stated that steps were being taken for the U.N. force to assume its responsibilities in the Port Said area by the middle of December. By December 22, after a phased take-over by the U.N. force, the British and French troops completed their withdrawal from Egypt.

The Israelis continued to withdraw about 15 miles a week and UNEF troops continued to enter Sinai so that by the end of 1956 UNEF troops from the Yugoslavian, Colombian, Danish, Norwegian, and Indian contingents were as deep as 60 miles into the peninsula.

Reported Treatment of Minorities in Egypt

Following the military intervention in Egypt, reports had begun to circulate that persons of the Jewish faith as well as British and French nationals, regardless of religion, were being subjected to restrictive measures in Egypt. A growing number of these persons began to leave Egypt.

On December 21 the U.S. representative, Ambassador James J. Wadsworth, addressed the Assembly on the matter. The United States, he said, had received information, which it had not been able to evaluate or have clarified fully, indicating that an indeterminate number of persons, including British and French nationals and persons of Jewish origin in Egypt, had been subjected to pressure and intimidation and, in some instances, had been ordered deported. While recognizing the right of any government to take measures necessary in the interests of security, the United States must express its concern at any unwarranted pressures exerted against a minority. The concern of the American people over these reports had been brought to Egypt's attention, and the United States hoped that everything would be done to insure that measures would not be employed that would discriminate unjustly against persons merely on racial or religious grounds or on the basis of foreign nationality.

Israeli Conditions for Withdrawal

When the General Assembly reconvened in January, after the Christmas recess, it had before it a report from the Secretary-General to the effect that British and French troops had been withdrawn completely and that Israeli troops had been pulled back from most of the Sinai Peninsula. However, Israeli troops were still deployed along a belt to the west of the Egyptian-Israeli demarcation line and along the western shore of the Gulf of Aqaba to the Sharm el-Sheikh area at

the entrance of the Gulf. They continued to occupy the Gaza Strip. Israel, he reported, had announced that its withdrawal from the Aqaba area and the Gaza Strip should be accompanied by measures that would prevent a renewal of the blockade of Israel at the entrance of the Gulf of Aqaba and by measures that would prevent the Gaza Strip from again being used as a base for raids against Israel.

The U.S. representative recalled that the United States had consistently supported the prompt and complete withdrawal of all foreign forces behind the armistice lines. He also pointed out the importance of having the UNEF move in immediately behind the withdrawing Israeli forces in order to assure the maintenance of the cease-fire and to safeguard the armistice agreement. He explained that "the United States considers it essential that both Egypt and Israel undertake scrupulously to observe the armistice agreement. No matter how effectively the United Nations Emergency Force discharges its responsibilities, . . . the maintenance of the cease-fire will in the end depend on full observance by both sides of the provisions of the armistice agreement."

The Assembly's continued concern over Israel's failure to complete the withdrawal of its troops was expressed in a resolution cosponsored by 25 African and Asian nations which was adopted on January 19, 1957, by a vote of 74 (U.S.) to 2 (France and Israel), with 2 abstentions. This resolution noted with regret and concern the failure of Israel to comply with the terms of the Assembly's resolutions of November 2, 4, 7, and 24, 1956, and requested the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to secure the complete withdrawal of Israel and to report to the Assembly on such completion within 5 days.

In an aide memoire to the Secretary-General dated January 23, the Government of Israel made further statements regarding the withdrawal of its troops from the Sharm el-Sheikh area and the Gaza Strip—the two remaining areas from which Israeli troops had not been withdrawn.

Israel explained that it was primarily Egypt's policy of belligerency which caused its concern. Israel feared lest its withdrawal be undertaken in such a manner as to strengthen the serious likelihood of warlike acts against it, nevertheless, it was ready to undertake a formal mutual liquidation of belligerency with Egypt, including a nonaggression pact. With regard to the Sharm el-Sheikh area, Israel maintained that Egyptian compliance with the Security Council resolution of September 1, 1951, concerning freedom of passage through the Suez Canal had legal and chronological priority over Israel's duty to fulfill recommendations in which Egypt had an interest. When withdrawal did occur there, Israel envisaged that UNEF would hold the area so as to insure that freedom of navigation would be main-

tained and belligerent acts avoided in the Gulf of Aqaba until the parties could agree to other effective means to achieve these same results. This could be achieved through a peace settlement or an international instrument to which Israel was a party.

With regard to the Gaza Strip, Israel envisaged a "suitable relationship" with the United Nations, under which no Israeli military forces would remain but Israel would supply the necessary functions of security and administration, thus obviating the entry of UNEF. Israel would also continue to cooperate with the United Nations Relief and Works Agency and would make its full contribution toward any United Nations plan for the permanent settlement of the refugees, including those in Gaza.

In his report pursuant to the Assembly's resolution of January 19, the Secretary-General noted that Israel had not fully complied with the Assembly's requests for withdrawal. At the same time the Secretary-General made a number of observations on matters of principle that governed the United Nations in its efforts to help toward solutions of the pending problems in the area. The United Nations, he explained, could not condone a change of the *status juris* resulting from military action contrary to the provisions of the Charter; it could not use its military forces to impose a settlement of controversial political or legal issues in the interest of one party; and it must act in full respect for the rights of member governments. These considerations, he pointed out, excluded the United Nations from accepting Israeli control in the Gaza area and indicated the necessity of abiding by the terms of the armistice agreement. In this connection he suggested how UNEF, if authorized by the General Assembly to be deployed on both sides of the demarcation line, might help in the implementation of those parts of the armistice agreement that provided for the defensive and demilitarized zones along the armistice demarcation line. The problem of the Gulf of Aqaba, he added, was a legal one which should be dealt with as such and not through military action.

The United States, Ambassador Lodge stated, endorsed the basic premise on which the Secretary-General had based the recommendations in his report. Strict observance of the armistice agreement and the fullest respect for the United Nations resolutions were the keys to the restoration of peace and stability. Under the armistice agreement neither side might assert any belligerent rights and a clear basis existed for a separation of the armed forces of the two sides, he pointed out. Accordingly, he said, "the United States strongly supports the Secretary-General's recommendations concerning the deployment of the United Nations Emergency Force on both sides of the armistice lines, particularly with regard to the sensitive positions in the Gaza and El Auja sectors." The United States also believed it was essential that UNEF be stationed at the Straits of Tiran in

order to achieve the separation of Egyptian and Israeli forces. This was necessary, Ambassador Lodge stated, "until it is clear that the nonexercise of any claim to belligerent rights had established in practice the peaceful conditions which must govern navigation in waters having such an international interest." He also emphasized that a return to the conditions that had helped to bring about the hostilities would not be satisfactory. But the type of assurances being sought to that end could not be given effect until Israel had completed its withdrawal.

In order to arrive at a constructive solution to the problem of securing a full Israeli withdrawal, the U.S. delegation entered into extensive consultations with other U.N. delegations, from which it became clear that a very large number of them were convinced that Israel must withdraw behind the armistice line without further delay and that there must be positive action insuring progress toward the creation of peaceful conditions in the region. These sentiments were reflected in two draft resolutions cosponsored by Brazil, Colombia, India, Indonesia, Norway, the United States, and Yugoslavia which were considered by the Assembly on February 2.

The first draft resolution deplored Israel's failure to complete its withdrawal despite repeated requests of the Assembly and called upon Israel to do so without further delay. The second draft resolution, Ambassador Lodge explained, was inspired by the recognition that such a withdrawal would not assure tranquillity in troubled areas where there were conflicting claims. The resolution (1) noted with appreciation the Secretary-General's report and the measures recommended therein to be carried out upon Israel's complete withdrawal; (2) called upon Egypt and Israel scrupulously to observe their armistice agreement; (3) considered that, once Israel had completed its withdrawal, the scrupulous observance of the armistice agreement required the placing of UNEF on the armistice line and the implementation of other measures as proposed in the Secretary-General's report; and (4) requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the parties concerned, to take steps to carry out these measures and to report, as appropriate, to the Assembly.

In introducing the resolutions, Ambassador Lodge explained that UNEF could best fulfill its mission and exercise the restraining influence necessary to its full effectiveness if it were deployed on both sides of the armistice line, particularly in the sensitive Gaza and El Auja sectors. He stressed the importance of voting on the draft resolutions consecutively, pointing out that the adoption of either without the other would jeopardize the achievement of the objective set forth in the resolution of November 2 and would not promote peace and stability in the region.

After a Soviet motion to postpone the vote on the second draft resolution was rejected, the Assembly adopted the two resolutions during the evening of February 2, 1957. The first was adopted by a vote of 74 to 2 (Israel, France), with 2 abstentions (Luxembourg, Netherlands), and the second by a vote of 56 to 0, with 22 abstentions (Egypt, France, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, the Netherlands, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen, the Soviet bloc).

The Secretary-General's report submitted in response to the second resolution of February 2 reviewed the consultations that had been held with Egypt and Israel with a view to carrying out his recommendations. Israel had indicated that, when it had learned the Egyptian views on the exercise of belligerency, it would formulate its position on all outstanding questions in the light of the Egyptian response. Moreover, Israel had maintained its position that the armistice agreement had become a fiction through Egyptian violations. The Secretary-General reported that this attitude had complicated efforts to implement the Assembly's resolutions and pointed out that Israel's request for a clarification of the Egyptian stand on belligerency was put forward while Israel itself, by continued occupation, maintained a state of belligerency which, in the case of Gaza, it had not indicated its intention fully to liquidate. In view of the situation facing the United Nations, the Secretary-General suggested that the Assembly might wish to indicate how it wished him to proceed with further steps to carry out the Assembly's decisions.

On February 22 the Secretary-General supplemented his report with the following statement: "The Secretary-General states with confidence that it is the desire of the Government of Egypt that the takeover of Gaza from the military and civilian control of Israel—which, as had been the case, in the first instance would be exclusively by UNEF—will be orderly and safe, as it has been elsewhere. It may be added with equal confidence that the Government of Egypt, recognizing the present special problems and complexities of the Gaza area and the long-standing major responsibility of the United Nations there for the assistance of the Arab refugees, and having in mind also the objectives and obligations of the Armistice Agreement, has the willingness and readiness to make special and helpful arrangements with the United Nations and some of its auxiliary bodies, such as UNRWA and UNEF. For example, the arrangement for the use of the United Nations Emergency Force in the area should insure its deployment on the Armistice line at the Gaza Strip and the effective interposition of the Force between the armed forces of Egypt and Israel. Similarly, the assistance of the United Nations and its appropriate auxiliary bodies would be enrolled toward putting a definite end to all incursions and raids across the border from either side.

Furthermore, with reference to the period of transition, such other arrangements with the United Nations may be made as will contribute towards safeguarding life and property in the area by providing efficient and effective police protection; as will guarantee good civilian administration; as will assure maximum assistance to the United Nations refugee programme; and as will protect and foster the economic development of the territory and its people."

At this stage the Assembly seemed to be reaching a crisis in its effort to deal with the problems arising out of the October military intervention. On the one hand, it was clear that a large majority believed that Israel must withdraw unconditionally and without delay. Some of the Arab and Asian delegations pressed for the imposition of sanctions against Israel. At the same time it was apparent to an increasing number of member states that special steps would have to be taken to provide for a degree of security beyond that which had prevailed in the past, but that these steps could only follow the Israeli withdrawal.

United States Position Explained

In an effort to be of assistance in facilitating progress toward these objectives, the United States explained its position on the matter in a memorandum delivered to the Israeli Ambassador on February 11, 1957. The memorandum stated that in the view of the United States the General Assembly had no authority to require of either party a substantial modification of the armistice agreement which had given Egypt the right and responsibility of occupying the Gaza Strip and that Israel should withdraw. Recognizing that the area had been the source of danger, the United States pledged its best efforts to help assure that the United Nations should seek to have UNEF move into the area on the boundary between Israel and the Gaza Strip.

The United States believed that the Gulf of Aqaba comprehended international waters and that no nation had the right to prevent free and innocent passage there and through the Straits giving access to the Gulf. In the absence of some overriding decision to the contrary, as by the International Court of Justice, the United States was prepared, in behalf of vessels of U.S. registry, to exercise the right of free and innocent passage and to join with others to secure general recognition of that right. Furthermore, the memorandum said, the United States was prepared to use its influence to the end that, following Israel's withdrawal, the other measures called for by the General Assembly would be implemented. The United States, the memorandum concluded, believed that its views were shared by many other nations and that "a tranquil future for Israel is best assured by reliance upon that fact, rather than by an occupation in defiance of the overwhelming judgment of the world community."

The U.S. position was further explained by the President in a broadcast to the American people on February 20. The President pointed out that Israel's failure to withdraw completely created a fateful crisis. Either it must be recognized that the United Nations was unable to restore peace or the United Nations must renew with increased vigor its efforts to bring about Israeli withdrawal, he explained. He recalled the efforts that had been made to bring about a voluntary withdrawal and to bring about conditions that would assure greater security for Israel, if it were to withdraw. It had been a matter of keen disappointment to the United States that Israel was still unwilling to withdraw. Israel, he said, was not satisfied that the U.N. resolution of February 2 and the U.S. declaration of February 11 provided adequate insurance of its own safety after withdrawal but insisted on firm guarantees as a condition to its withdrawal. This raised the basic question of principle whether a nation that defiantly occupies foreign territory should be allowed to impose conditions on its own withdrawal. To agree to this would turn back the clock of international order. Perhaps the world community had been at fault, he said, in not recognizing that there should be a greater effort to secure justice and conformity with international law. For its part, the United States would vigorously seek solutions of the problems of the area according to justice and international law. Meanwhile, the President said, "the United Nations had no choice but to exert pressure upon Israel to comply with the withdrawal resolutions."

Announcement of Israeli Withdrawal

Following further exchanges of views between the United States and Israeli Governments, Israel's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mrs. Meir, announced to the General Assembly on March 1, 1957, her Government's plans for full and prompt withdrawal from the Sharm el-Sheikh area and the Gaza Strip in compliance with resolution I of February 2. She explained that Israel had learned with gratification that leading maritime powers were prepared to subscribe to the doctrine with regard to the right of innocent passage in the Gulf of Aqaba set out in the U.S. memorandum of February 11. Israel had noted the Secretary-General's assurance, embodied in his report of February 26, that any proposal for the withdrawal of UNEF from the Gulf of Aqaba area would first be considered by the Advisory Committee. In the light of these factors, Israel was confident that free and innocent passage would continue to be fully maintained after Israel's withdrawal from the Gulf of Aqaba area. Armed interference with Israeli ships, she warned, would entitle Israel to exercise its right of self-defense. Israel was withdrawing from the Gaza area on the assumption that the takeover

would be exclusively by UNEF, that the United Nations would carry out the security and administrative functions enumerated by the Secretary-General in his statement to the Assembly on February 22, and that the United Nations responsibility in these respects would be maintained until a peace settlement or a definite agreement on the future of the Gaza Strip was reached. Israel would reserve its freedom to act to defend its rights if conditions in the Gaza Strip were to return to those that existed previously, Mrs. Meir declared. In completing its withdrawal, she said, Israel relied on the resolve of the international community to preserve Israel's basic rights.

The United States welcomed the Israeli announcement, Ambassador Lodge stated. He took note of the declarations made by Mrs. Meir which, for the most part, did not seem unreasonable in the light of the prior actions of the Assembly. The future of the Gaza Strip must be worked out within the framework of the armistice agreement, he said, and the United States hoped that the U.N. role there, as described by the Secretary-General, could usefully continue until there was a definitive settlement for the Gaza Strip. The U.S. views on the Aqaba area had already been expressed, he recalled. He emphasized the necessity of compliance by Israel and Egypt with their international obligations, including the armistice agreement. Once Israel had completed its withdrawal, and in view of the measures taken by the United Nations to deal with the situation, there would be no basis for either party to the armistice agreement to assert or exercise any belligerent right. He reiterated the importance of establishing conditions different from those that previously had prevailed, once withdrawal was completed. The United States, he said, would like to see as rapidly as practicable a definitive settlement of the Palestine problem but realized that this could not yet be attained. It would therefore seek to bring about conditions of security and tranquillity which would make a peace settlement practicable. Mrs. Meir proposed that there be an immediate meeting between the Chief of Staff of the Israel Defense Force and the Commander of UNEF in order to arrange for the United Nations to take over its responsibilities in the two areas. General Burns and General Dayan met at Lydda airport on March 4, and that same day the Secretary-General announced that all arrangements for initial takeover by UNEF and complete military and civilian withdrawal by Israel had been completed.

On March 8 the Secretary-General reported to the Assembly that full compliance with the Assembly's resolution I of February 2 had been effected with the completion of the Israeli withdrawal to behind the armistice demarcation line. Thus, he pointed out, the provisions of resolution II of February 2 became operative.

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Clearing the Suez Canal

During the course of the Anglo-French military action against Egypt, the latter, by scuttling vessels and otherwise destroying equipment, obstructed the canal at numerous points. In explanation, the Egyptian representative later declared in the Security Council that "this aggression gave Egypt every right to take the necessary steps to defend itself and to uphold its security."

The Assembly's resolution of November 2 had urged that, upon the cease-fire becoming effective, steps be taken to reopen the Suez Canal and restore secure freedom of navigation. The resolution also requested the Secretary-General to observe compliance with its provisions and to report promptly for such further action as the Security Council and the General Assembly might deem appropriate. Acting under this authority, the Secretary-General proceeded to explore the possibilities of engaging the services of private firms for assistance in the clearing operation. At the same time Egypt requested U.N. assistance in clearing the canal as a matter of high priority, the work to be started immediately upon the withdrawal of non-Egyptian forces from the canal area. In reporting this to the Assembly, the Secretary-General requested the Assembly's authority to negotiate agreements with private concerns in countries outside the conflict. While he was not then prepared to indicate how the costs should be shared, he asked for authorization to enter into unavoidable financial commitments. The Secretary-General's actions were approved by the General Assembly on November 24 by a resolution which was adopted by a vote of 65 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions. The resolution, in addition, authorized him "to proceed with the exploration of practical arrangements and the negotiation of agreements so that the clearing operations may be speedily and effectively undertaken."

During the debate Ambassador Lodge, noting that Egypt had placed prior withdrawal of foreign troops from the canal area as a condition to the start of the clearance operation, said, "the United States believes that the work of clearing the canal by the United Nations should begin as soon as it is physically and technically possible. We do not agree that the withdrawal of foreign forces should await the clearing of the canal; at the same time we do not believe that the beginning of the clearing process must await the completion of the withdrawal. . . . Each day that the canal remains closed adds to the serious material damage already suffered by many United Nations members, and therefore makes the opening of the canal even more vitally important."

With the completion of the British and French withdrawals on December 22, the United Nations was in a position to begin to undertake the clearance of the canal. For this task, the Secretary-General

had contracted with Dutch and Danish firms which had assembled 32 salvage ships from 7 nations. He also engaged Lt. Gen. Raymond A. Wheeler, USA Retired, to assist him in the conduct of the clearing operations and had obtained the services of John J. McCloy, chairman of the board of the Chase Manhattan Bank, to advise him on the financial problems arising in this connection. Survey of the salvage work to be done had begun on December 8, and the actual clearance operation by the United Nations got under way on December 28. By March 25 clearance of the canal for vessels of 30-foot draft was announced, and a few days later the last of 40 obstructions was removed by the United Nations. British and French salvage operations in the Port Said area were concluded under U.N. auspices.

In order to meet the immediate costs of clearing the canal, the Secretary-General appealed to all member governments for advances of funds. In response, the United States on January 8 advanced $5,000,000 against an assurance from the Secretary-General that other nations would match this amount and that there would be worked out a definitive plan for financing the total cost of rehabilitation of the canal which would include provision for repayment of the interim advances to the governments concerned. The U.S. advance was, in fact, more than matched, and this total proved to be sufficient to meet the U.N. expenses in the clearing operations. By the time the General Assembly adjourned, details for the repayment of these advances had not yet been worked out. (See also Part V, p. 265.)

General Assembly Defers Further Consideration of Question

Having completed consideration of all the items on its agenda, with the exception of the Hungarian and Middle Eastern items, the 11th General Assembly on March 8 decided by a vote of 65 to 0, with 6 abstentions, to adjourn temporarily and to authorize its President, in consultation with the Secretary-General and members of the General Committee, to reconvene the Assembly as necessary in order to consider further either of these two items.

Thus, more than 4 months after the invasions of Egypt had occurred, the United Nations succeeded in bringing about, first a cease-fire, and then the withdrawal of all foreign troops. The United Nations had also organized the clearance operation for the Suez Canal and was speedily completing that intricate task through international financial and technical cooperation. The first truly international police force had been created and was playing a vital role in maintaining peace in a troubled area. A number of questions, such as the exact scope and duration of UNEF and whether or not it would be permitted to deploy on both sides of the armistice demarcation line, remained

unanswered. No response had been made by Egypt to Israel's questions on belligerency. Failing a more favorable climate of opinion, action on the United States draft resolutions attempting to come to grips with the basic problems of the area had to be postponed. Nevertheless, world public opinion acting through the United Nations had made effective its disapproval of resort to force to settle disputes among nations.

United Nations Emergency Force

At the time the General Assembly adjourned, UNEF consisted of 10 contingents from member states of the United Nations as follows:

Country	*Strength*
Brazil	537
Canada	1,272
Colombia	527
Denmark	390
Finland	253
India	944
Indonesia	603
Norway	462
Sweden	330
Yugoslavia	745
Total strength	6,063
Total in Egypt	5,795

Offers to provide contingents for the force also had been received from Ceylon, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Laos, New Zealand, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, and Rumania, as well as unspecified offers to participate in UNEF from Afghanistan, Belgium, Burma, Ethiopia, Greece, Iran, the Netherlands, and Uruguay.

Administration

UNEF, as originally suggested by the Canadian representative, as recommended by the Secretary-General, and as established by the General Assembly, consisted of contingents from member states which serve under a commander appointed by and responsible to the United Nations. As such, UNEF presented the United Nations with new and unique administrative problems in contrast to the Korean operation which was carried out by a unified command under U.S. administration.

In its resolution of November 7, the General Assembly accepted the recommendation of the Secretary-General that he be authorized to issue all necessary instructions and regulations essential for the functioning of UNEF, established an Advisory Committee to assist

him, and also authorized him to take all other administrative and executive actions as required.

On November 8 the Secretary-General confirmed the appointment of General Burns as UNEF's commander, as noted above, and centered administrative matters for UNEF in the Office of the Under Secretary Without Department, Ralph J. Bunche. He also instituted a series of informal meetings with the military representatives of the participating countries to assist him in establishing administrative machinery, rules and regulations, and logistical arrangements. On November 19 Maj. Gen. Ilmari A. E. Martola of Finland was appointed the Secretary-General's Military Adviser, and officers from Brazil, Italy, and Pakistan were named to General Martola's staff.

The Secretary-General reported to the General Assembly on November 21 that, under the authority granted him by the resolutions of November 5 and 7, he intended to issue all the necessary regulations and instructions. The commander would supervise all UNEF personnel and would be responsible for billeting, the provision of food, and arranging for all transportation, supplies and equipment other than the standard type expected to accompany the contingents. The Secretary-General, in consultation with the Advisory Committee, would have final authority for all administrative and financial operations. He would be responsible for making arrangements with the governments concerned for the provision of troop units and necessary supplies and services.

During this period General Burns continued to recruit the necessary staff, which eventually included officers from Australia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Denmark, India, Indonesia, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, and Yugoslavia. Liaison with Egyptian military authorities was maintained through Brigadier Amin Helmi el-Tani who was attached to General Burns' headquarters.

Negotiations between the United Nations and the Government of Egypt on administrative and technical problems involved in the operation of UNEF in Egypt continued after the entry of UNEF troops into Egypt on November 12. These negotiations resulted in the conclusion on February 8, 1957, of a Status of Forces Agreement between the United Nations and the Government of Egypt that covered UNEF's rights as to entry and exit, use of the U.N. flag, uniforms and markings, bearing arms, privileges and immunities, freedom of movement, communications, currency, public utilities, recruitment of local personnel, taxes and customs charges, etc. The agreement also covered questions relating to the settlement of disputes or claims, jurisdiction, currency, and liaison. It was approved by the General Assembly on February 22, just 2 days after the Secretary-General had issued, following consultations with the participating countries and

the Advisory Committee, "Regulations for the United Nations Emergency Force" which in effect formalized the orders, instructions, and practices which had been followed ever since the force's inception.

Financing

The Secretary-General noted in his November 6 report on UNEF that the costs of the force would be determined by its size and duration, neither of which was known at that time. He did suggest, however, that the General Assembly vote a general authorization for the cost of UNEF under the basic rule "that a nation providing a unit would be responsible for all costs for equipment and salaries, while all other costs should be financed outside the normal budget of the United Nations." This principle was approved by the General Assembly on November 7.

On November 21, the Secretary-General recommended that "expenses of the Force, other than for pay and equipment of national contingents and such other supplies, equipment and services as may be furnished, without charge, by Member Governments, shall be borne by the United Nations; and shall be apportioned among Member States on the basis of the scale of assessments adopted for the United Nations budget for 1957." He recommended further that he be authorized to establish a UNEF special account to which the contributions of member states should be credited and from which payments might be made for meeting the expenses of the force; that the General Assembly decide on an initial amount of $10,000,000 for that special account; and that in order to meet immediate cash needs, he be authorized to advance monies from the U.N. Working Capital Fund and, if necessary, seek other means of providing for cash needs.

A draft resolution embodying these recommendations and requesting the Assembly's Committee V (Administrative and Budgetary) and, as appropriate, the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to consider and report on further financial arrangements needed to maintain the force was adopted by the General Assembly on November 24 by a vote of 52 to 9 (Soviet bloc), with 13 abstentions. The Advisory Committee and Committee V approved on December 15 the Secretary-General's proposal of December 3 that the United Nations provide each member of UNEF a weekly pocket allowance of $6. On December 20 Committee V adopted a resolution calling for the apportionment of UNEF's expenses to the extent of $10,000,000, in accordance with the U.N. scale of assessment for 1957. It also established a Committee of Nine (Canada, Ceylon, Chile, El Salvador, India, Liberia, Sweden, the Soviet Union, and the United States) to examine the question of apportioning UNEF's expenses exceeding $10,000,000.

On February 8, 1957, the Secretary-General reported on UNEF costs and, noting that the force's monthly running costs totaled about $975,000, requested authority to enter into additional commitments of up to $6,500,000 for UNEF. On February 19 the Committee of Nine adopted by a vote of 8 to 1 (the Soviet Union) a draft resolution sponsored by the United States, as amended by Canada, Ceylon, and Chile. This resolution noted that since UNEF expenses already approved for 1957 represented a sizable increase in assessments placed on member states and had caused a grave and unexpected financial burden for many governments, and since the Secretary-General had requested authority to enter into commitments for UNEF up to a total of $16,500,000 member states should be invited to make voluntary contributions to meet the additional sum of $6,500,000 needed and that the 12th General Assembly should consider the basis for financing any costs of UNEF in excess of the $6,500,000 not covered by voluntary contributions. This resolution was approved by Committee V on February 22. At that time the U.S. representative, Ambassador Richard Lee Jones, announced that his Government hoped to find it possible to make available, on a voluntary basis, the equivalent of some 50 percent of the additional $6,500,000 estimated to be needed for UNEF expenses, assuming, of course, that other governments would contribute the balance.

The 11th General Assembly completed its consideration of UNEF costs on February 27 when it adopted the resolution approved by Committee V by a vote of 52 to 8 (the Soviet bloc), with 3 abstentions. (See also Part V, p. 264.)

PALESTINE REFUGEES

According to statistics released by the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), over 922,000 refugees were on the Agency's relief rolls on June 30, 1956. This exceeded the number of registrants during the previous year and continued the trend, evident since 1950, of a steady, natural growth of refugees dependent on assistance. The Agency continued its long-term program of assisting the refugees to become self-supporting and its temporary task of providing them with subsistence, medical care, and shelter. To perform these functions the Agency sought the cooperation of the host governments, the specialized agencies, and private organizations. Contributions from governments and other sources during the year ending June 30, 1956, amounted to $23,847,097, of which the U.S. Government gave $16,700,000. In addition, $1,689,571 in

cash and kind were even given directly to the refugees by nongovernmental sources. (See appendix II.)

The agenda of the 11th General Assembly included the Annual Report of the Director of UNRWA which was considered by the Special Political Committee from February 11 to February 23, 1957. In presenting his report, Henry L. Labouisse, the Director of UNRWA, stated that the longer the problem of the Palestine refugees remains unsolved, the more dangerous the consequences would be for the countries of the Near East and for other members of the United Nations. The Director asserted that the Agency's slow and fragmentary progress in assisting the refugees to become self-supporting was due to their insistence, supported by the host governments, upon the choice of repatriation or compensation. He noted that Israel had taken no affirmative action in this regard.

The Agency's temporary task of providing for the welfare of the refugees, he reported, had been carried out as well as local conditions and available funds permitted. In this connection the Director said that the Agency had been hindered in carrying out its functions by a growing tendency on the part of host governments to disregard the Agency's status as an organ of the United Nations and to endeavor to control its day-to-day operations, including interference in personnel matters. These developments had compelled him to ask the General Assembly to reappraise the Agency's terms of reference and clarify the extent of its responsibilities and authority. He stressed that all host governments should give the Agency their open and full cooperation; otherwise, operations might have to be suspended in any area where such cooperation was lacking.

In conclusion the Director analyzed the Agency's critical financial position, emphasizing the urgent need of insuring adequate funds for its work. Unless outstanding pledges were fulfilled and new contributions were made to cover both rehabilitation projects and relief services, the essential educational services would suffer seriously, self-support projects would have to be terminated, and extreme human misery would result. The Agency's limited resources had already made it necessary to restrict yearly expenditures for relief services to less than $27 per capita. At this rate the Agency could provide the refugees with about 1,600 calories a day. In the event member governments could not provide the Agency with needed funds, the General Assembly's explicit instructions were requested by the Director with respect to the services that should be discontinued.

In a supplementary report the Director dealt with the unusual and difficult problems confronting the Agency as a result of the Israeli military intervention in the Gaza Strip. He reported that the disruption of supplies and services accompanying the invasion had resulted

in losses of about half a million dollars to the Agency, and that the civilian casualties among both refugees and local population had caused added anxiety and fear among these groups.

During the course of the committee's consideration of the Director's reports, a number of representatives expressed concern over the lack of cooperation from certain host governments. Several representatives urged Israel to implement the General Assembly's resolution of December 11, 1948, by offering the refugees the choice of repatriation or compensation for the property they had left behind. The Israeli representative responded that there would have been no refugee problem if the Arab States had accepted the United Nations partition plan of 1947 and had not then embarked on war against the new state. General concern was also expressed by various members regarding the financial problems facing UNRWA. Many members joined in commending the Director and his staff for their dedication and able work in difficult circumstances.

The U.S. representative, Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, pointed out the depressing fact that the plight of the refugees was not improving and was not being solved despite the U.N. efforts. Mrs. Lord said that the following facts stood out: (1) the refugees continue to expect the fulfillment of the promise made to them in 1948 that they would be repatriated or would receive compensation; (2) the noncooperation on the part of certain host governments, which was inconsistent with their obligations as outlined in articles 104 and 105 of the U.N. Charter, was making it difficult for the Agency to carry out its functions; and (3) the financial problem confronting the Agency threatened to curtail its work.

With regard to the problem of noncooperation, the U.S. representative expressed the view that the Director of the Agency would have the right to suspend, curtail, or terminate his activities if he were unable to carry out his assigned functions due to noncooperation. Moreover, since the Agency's present mandate extended only to June 30, 1960, the United States believed the Agency and the host governments should be assisted in preparing against the eventual termination of the Agency's activities. To this end the Director should, after consultations with the host governments, prepare for submission to the 12th General Assembly specific proposals on the various responsibilities with which the Agency is now charged.

Referring to the financial problem, the U.S. representative said that, while the United States would always stand ready to match generosity, "the very health and moral fiber of the United Nations is not served by contributions from a limited number of nations." If broader support were not forthcoming and the Agency found it necessary to cut back its activities, she urged that the supplying of

food and clothing be the last services to suffer. She also advocated that the Director be authorized to use rehabilitation funds for general economic development projects that might indirectly benefit the refugees, provided the recipient governments would, within a fixed period, assume the financial responsibility for an agreed number of refugees.

On February 23 the Special Political Committee, by a vote of 66 to 0, with 1 abstention (Iraq), passed a resolution proposed by the United States and cosponsored by Argentina, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United Kingdom. The resolution took note of the Agency's financial difficulties, of the fact that repatriation or compensation had not been effected, that no substantial progress had been made in reintegrating the refugees and that therefore the situation of the refugees continued to be a matter of serious concern, and that the host governments had expressed their wish to cooperate fully with the Agency. The resolution directed UNRWA to pursue its program within its financial limitations and requested the host governments to cooperate fully with the Agency and to carry out projects that might support substantial numbers of refugees. It authorized the Director to make use of the Agency's rehabilitation funds for general economic development projects, subject to agreement by the recipient government that, within a given period of time, it would assume financial responsibility for an agreed number of refugees, such a number to be commensurate with the cost of the projects. The resolution also appealed to all governments to contribute or to increase their contributions, noted with approval the action of the Agency in continuing to carry out its program in the Gaza Strip, and expressed thanks to the Director and his staff for their continued faithful efforts to carry out the mandate of the Agency and to the specialized agencies and the many private organizations for their valuable and continuing work in assisting the refugees. The U.S. representative, Mrs. Lord, in introducing this resolution, expressed the hope that new vitality to assist and solve the Arab refugee problem would be engendered by this resolution.

In order to elicit as broad support for the resolution as possible, especially among the representatives of the host states, the United States had agreed to withdraw from the draft originally presented references to inadequate cooperation on the part of certain host governments and to the fact that the mandate of the Agency was due to expire on June 30, 1960, and a paragraph requesting the Director, after consultation with the host governments, to make specific suggestions to the 12th General Assembly for future implementation of the Agency's programs. Certain Latin American delegates and the Soviet bloc abstained in separate votes on that part of the resolu-

tion dealing with the advisability of seeking greater financial support for the Agency.

On February 28 the resolution was approved in plenary by 68 members with none opposing and one abstaining.

Cyprus

BACKGROUND

The island of Cyprus, since 1878 under British occupation and administration by agreement with the Ottoman Empire, was formally annexed by the United Kingdom following Turkish entry into World War I on the side of Germany. Its annexation was recognized by Turkey in the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, to which Greece and other allied powers were also parties. About four-fifths of the population of Cyprus are culturally Greek and follow the Cypriot Orthodox faith; the remainder are Turkish and Moslem.

Following World War II a long-standing desire for "enosis," or union of the island with Greece, grew in intensity both among Greek-speaking Cypriots and in Greece. While the United Kingdom has expressed willingness to grant a large degree of self-government to the people of the island, it has made clear its intention to maintain its sovereignty over Cyprus for reasons of security based upon the strategic importance of Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean.

CONSIDERATION OF CYPRUS AT TENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION

At its 10th session the General Assembly rejected the Greek request for inclusion in the agenda of an item entitled "Application, under the auspices of the United Nations, of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples in the case of the population of the island of Cyprus." Earlier in 1955 events had revealed that the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey were sharply divided in their views respecting an appropriate solution of the problem of Cyprus. Violence and terrorist activities on Cyprus had erupted and increased. Efforts at direct negotiations were abortive.

These unsettled and tense conditions led a majority of United Nations members at the 10th Assembly session to conclude that public debate in the Assembly could produce no useful result and could seriously aggravate an already potentially explosive situation. In opposing Assembly consideration, the U.S. representative, Ambassa-

dor Lodge, stated that "There are occasions when quiet diplomacy is far more effective than public debate."

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS

During 1956 there were renewed but unsuccessful efforts through diplomatic channels to bring about further negotiations on the problem of Cyprus that might produce a settlement meeting both the demand of the Cypriots for increased self-government and the essential strategic and political considerations. Talks between the British and Cypriot Orthodox Archbishop Makarios III and Turkish Cypriot leaders likewise failed.

Early in the year violence and acts of terrorism on the island reached such proportions that the British authorities took into custody Archbishop Makarios, a key leader in the movement for "enosis," whom they charged with inspiring and encouraging the stepped-up terrorist campaign by EOKA, the Greek Cypriot organization behind "enosis." He was placed in exile in the Seychelles Islands in the Indian Ocean. However, the British emphasized that the Archbishop's exile would be ended whenever he was prepared to denounce the use of violence.

In July Lord Radcliffe, a leading British jurist, was given the task of drafting new constitutional proposals designed to give the Cypriots increased self-government. He visited the island twice, consulted widely with various segments of the population, and submitted his report in November. Under the Radcliffe plan the powers of self-government would be entrusted to a popularly elected legislative body except that foreign affairs, defense, and internal security were powers reserved to the British Governor.

When the Radcliffe proposals were introduced in the British House of Commons on December 19, 1956, the Colonial Secretary announced that "when the international and strategic situation permits, and provided that self-government is working satisfactorily, Her Majesty's Government will be ready to review the question of the application of self-determination." The statement also made clear the British purpose to insure that any exercise of self-determination should be carried out in such a manner as to permit both the Turkish and Greek elements of the population freedom of choice; in other words, that in a mixed population such as that in Cyprus, partition would have to be considered among the options.

The British Government made the Radcliffe report available to the Greek and Turkish Governments prior to its public release, emphasizing the continuing British intention to press toward implementation of the principle of self-determination when international and local

conditions permitted. Greece reacted to the proposals by rejecting them outright within 24 hours but withheld announcement until after their public release. Greek Cypriot spokesmen and local press opinion also took an unfavorable view of this report. Archbishop Makarios refused comment while under detention. Turkey accepted them as a reasonable basis for negotiation, emphasizing the right of the Turkish community to determine its own future independently. It continued to oppose the concept of "enosis" as threatening the security of the Turkish minority but was favorably disposed toward partition, with separate administrations for the Greek and Turkish inhabitants.

ACTION AT ELEVENTH ASSEMBLY SESSION

Two items involving Cyprus were on the agenda of the 11th General Assembly. On March 13 Greece had submitted the identical item that the 10th session had refused to inscribe. On October 12 the United Kingdom had requested inclusion of a related item entitled "Support from Greece for Terrorism in Cyprus."

The explanatory memorandum accompanying the Greek request for inclusion of its item alleged that the British authorities alone were responsible for the breakdown of negotiations looking toward a peaceful solution of the problem of Cyprus. It charged the British with carrying out increased repressive measures against the Greek Cypriots; the resulting critical political situation, the memorandum stated, should be dealt with in the United Nations. For its part the United Kingdom, in its explanatory memorandum, contended that Greece had intervened in Cyprus in a manner inconsistent with the principles of the Charter and, in particular, through Athens Radio and through actual material aid had encouraged the terrorists to continue and step up their efforts to secure by violence the union of Cyprus with Greece.

Both items were included without objection in the Assembly's agenda and referred to the Political Committee.

Committee Consideration

The Assembly's Political Committee discussed the two items concurrently, beginning on February 18, 1957, and concluded their consideration on February 22 after nine meetings.

Opening the general debate, the Greek representative, Foreign Minister Averoff, stressed that the Greek appeal for United Nations action was made in "a constructive spirit" so that "the principles of the Charter may be applied to a small people suffering and struggling for its freedom." The main point, he said, was to permit the people of

Cyprus the right of freedom of self-determination; their actions against the British authorities were fully justified by the repressive methods applied against them. Already before the committee was a Greek draft resolution. After preambular paragraphs recognizing the right of the people of Cyprus to self-determination, considering the grave deterioration of the situation in Cyprus, considering that the establishment of conditions of freedom and peace was not only of vital importance to the Cypriots but also of concern to all peoples in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean, and considering further that an equitable solution would contribute to peace and stability in the area, the General Assembly would express the wish that the people of Cyprus be given the opportunity to determine their own future by the application of their right to self-determination.

The British representative, Comdr. Allan Noble, the second speaker in the general debate, pointed to the pursuit by Greece of its objective of "enosis" as the cause of the deterioration in Greek-British relations and in Free-world defenses in southeastern Europe. He described in detail the development of the terrorist campaign against the British authorities, making specific charges with respect to its inspiration, encouragement, and support from Greece. He also contended that at least half the victims of this terrorist campaign were Cypriots whose only crime was their opposition or indifference to the "enosis" movement. At the conclusion of his remarks he submitted a draft resolution providing for the General Assembly, after noting the British complaint and the fact that despite repeated representations by the British Government Athens Radio had regularly broadcast to Cyprus incitements to insurrection and violence, to call upon the Government of Greece to take effective measures to prevent support or encouragement from Greece for terrorism in Cyprus.

The Turkish representative, Ambassador Selim Sarper, was the third speaker. He emphasized the need to safeguard the rights of the Turkish minority on the island. He also urged that the Assembly call upon Greece to put an end to its support of terrorism and encourage the renewal of negotiations among the parties directly concerned, including, of course, Turkey.

In a second major intervention Greek Foreign Minister Averoff sought to answer the British and Turkish statements, particularly the charge of Greek support for terrorism. To meet the British proposal he submitted a second resolution, according to which the General Assembly, in order to be in possession of the fullest and most objective information and facts concerning the British complaint and the Greek arguments and countercomplaints, would establish a fact-finding committee of seven member states to investigate through direct observation as appropriate and to report at the next General Assembly.

The United States representative, Ambassador James J. Wadsworth, reiterated the continuing American belief that the most constructive approach to this problem lay in "quiet diplomacy." He recalled the U.S. pledge in 1955 to take an active interest in the Cyprus question; that pledge had been fulfilled by pressing forward at every opportunity initiatives designed to facilitate negotiations among those concerned. Despite the regrettable lack of progress, the United States remained convinced that "the possibility of successful settlement depends upon the willingness of those involved to reach an understanding through negotiations undertaken on their own initiative." The obvious need, he said, was for "patient consideration and thoughtful study in a spirit of mutual cooperation"; the existence of "stability and tranquillity" in the area "would be helpful in this regard." Ambassador Wadsworth emphasized that a settlement "should be designed to win the wholehearted cooperation of the people of the island." The criterion that the United States would apply to any proposals would be the extent to which they would enable the Assembly to conclude its discussion "without further aggravating the situation and rendering more difficult an eventual settlement." Applying this criterion to the three resolutions then before the committee, Ambassador Wadsworth expressed the hope that their sponsors would not press them to a vote.

The Panamanian representative suggested another approach to the problem. He submitted a draft resolution according to which the General Assembly would establish a five-member committee to investigate the situation and report, with its recommendations, to the 12th Assembly session; and would request the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey to cooperate fully with the committee.

The committee's discussion revealed that none of these resolutions was likely to win the necessary support for adoption or to lead to a fruitful renewal of negotiations. Through informal discussions, efforts were made to arrive at a resolution that would be acceptable to the countries most directly interested in Cyprus and that might provide the stimulus for a resumption of negotiations.

On February 22 the Indian representative analyzed in considerable detail the complexity of the problem, placing particular emphasis upon the urgent necessity of giving due recognition to the people of Cyprus whom he regarded as entitled to self-government. He made clear, however, that no settlement was possible that did not take into account all the relevant interests, including specifically those of the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey. He submitted the following draft resolution:

The General Assembly,
Having considered the question of Cyprus,

Believing that the solution of this problem requires an atmosphere of peace and freedom of expression,

Expresses the earnest desire that a peaceful, democratic and just solution will be found in accord with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and the hope that negotiations will be resumed and continued to this end.

He did not regard any of the other four draft resolutions as likely to lead to a solution and therefore urged unanimous support for the Indian draft, which he felt should have priority.

A number of delegations immediately supported the Indian proposal. The Guatemalan representative formally moved priority for it, which was agreed without objection.

The chairman then put the Indian resolution to the vote, and it was adopted by a vote of 76 to 0, with 2 abstentions. Greece, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States voted affirmatively. Thereafter, the representatives of Greece, the United Kingdom, and Panama all indicated that they would not press their proposals to a vote.

In the ensuing explanations of the vote, the British representative expressed appreciation for the constructive and helpful intervention of the Indian delegation. He specifically acknowledged the wisdom of the inclusion in the resolution of recognition that a calm atmosphere was required for a solution and of the fact that it permitted the three countries concerned to resume negotiations by such means as they might think fit. He also noted approvingly that the resolution made clear that the problem should be settled by negotiations among all the parties concerned. The Turkish representative likewise regarded the resolution as entirely satisfactory. The Greek representative stressed that the Indian resolution approached the problem "from the angle of the speediest possible establishment of a democratic regime to be set up as the result of negotiations between the country which occupies the island and the people to which it lawfully belongs."

Plenary Action

The committee's report was considered by the plenary on February 26. The recommended draft resolution was adopted by a vote of 57 to 0, with 1 abstention.

Hungary

What began as a peaceful student demonstration in Budapest on October 23, 1956, was to precipitate a series of fateful events culminating in a wholesale uprising of the Hungarian people against

their Communist masters, crushed only by massive Soviet armed intervention. From the outset there were demands for withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary, free multiparty elections, and a new independent government. Late in the evening of October 23 the first bloodshed occurred, and fighting went on intermittently between the people on the one hand, and units of the AVH (the Hungarian secret police) and the Soviet army on the other. Many Hungarian troops threw their support to the people. Additional Soviet units entered Hungary, and by October 26 fairly heavy fighting was going on in Budapest and throughout Hungary.

SECURITY COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

It was in these circumstances that the United States, France, and the United Kingdom, on October 27, submitted "The Situation in Hungary" for the agenda of the Security Council and requested an urgent meeting. They explained that this request was based upon the situation "created by the action of foreign military forces in Hungary in violently repressing the rights of the Hungarian people which are secured by the Treaty of Peace to which the Governments of Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers are parties." A number of other members addressed individual communications to the Security Council President associating themselves with this tripartite initiative.

On October 28 the Security Council inscribed the Hungarian item on its agenda by a vote of 9 to 1 (U.S.S.R.), with 1 abstention (Yugoslavia), despite the contention in a communication circulated to Council members from the Permanent Representative of Hungary that the events there and the measures taken were exclusively within Hungary's domestic jurisdiction. Supporting Council consideration, the U.S. representative, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, pointed out that the Hungarian people were doing no more than to demand the rights and freedoms affirmed in the U.N. Charter and specifically guaranteed by the peace treaty. The Council's anxiety reflected the deep and worldwide concern over the bloodshed in Hungary. The United States, he said, was prepared to join in considering what the Council could do to bring an end to this situation and to establish conditions under which the Hungarian people could enjoy their fundamental human rights.

The next day Israel invaded Egypt's Sinai Peninsula. Its action was followed on October 30 by Anglo-French ultimatums to Egypt and Israel, implemented on October 31 by Anglo-French military action for the declared purpose of separating the combatants and securing freedom of passage through the Suez Canal. These far-

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reaching events required urgent United Nations action and tended to draw attention to some extent from the developing crisis in Hungary.

Moreover, at this precise moment it appeared that Soviet units were withdrawing from Hungary. On October 28 a Soviet-Hungarian agreement was announced for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces from Budapest. Another apparently encouraging development was the announcement on October 30 by Hungarian Premier Imre Nagy, who had formed a new government on October 27, of the abolition of the one-party system, the reestablishment of the democratic cooperation of the coalition parties as they existed in 1945, and the formation of a new cabinet. Significance was likewise attached to a Soviet policy declaration in Moscow issued on October 30 stating Soviet agreement to the withdrawal of Soviet military units from Budapest and Soviet readiness to start negotiations with the Government of Hungary and with the governments of other states participating in the Warsaw Pact concerning the stationing of Soviet troops in Hungary. By October 31 Soviet units began to pull out of Budapest. Their departure was followed by large popular demonstrations and the destruction of Soviet monuments and Communist insignia throughout the city; many political prisoners, including Cardinal Mindszenty, were released.

By November 1 the outward situation was peaceful. With the Nagy Government in power there appeared to be a basis for a greater expression of national independence. At that moment, however, the Hungarian Government learned of the entry of new Soviet units. Premier Nagy called in the Soviet Ambassador to demand their immediate withdrawal and to inform him that Hungary was giving immediate notice of its withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and was appealing to the United Nations and the four great powers to guarantee Hungarian neutrality. Late that day the United Nations Secretary-General received a cablegram from Premier Nagy reporting this development and requesting that an item be placed on the agenda of the forthcoming General Assembly entitled "The Question of Hungary's Neutrality and the Defense of this Neutrality by the Four Great Powers."

In these confused circumstances the Security Council met again November 2. No Hungarian representative participated because it was questioned whether the permanent Hungarian delegation in New York still represented Hungary, particularly since it was without instructions or first-hand information on the situation in Hungary.

Ambassador Lodge referred to the emergency General Assembly session convened the previous day to consider the grave crisis in Egypt, a situation requiring continued close attention but which could not, he said, justify the Council's ignoring the equally urgent and dangerous

situation developing in Hungary. Praising the "valiant struggle of the Hungarian people . . . to assert their right to an independent national existence," he regarded the news of the entry of new Soviet units with foreboding, but he also recalled the significant October 30 Soviet declaration regarding relations of the nations of Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. since it emphasized that "the countries of the great commonwealth of Socialist nations can build their relations only on the principle of full equality, respect of territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty, and noninterference with the domestic affairs of one another." He observed that President Eisenhower on October 31 had emphasized that "if the Soviet Union indeed faithfully acts upon its announced intention, the world will witness the greatest forward stride towards justice, trust, and understanding among nations in our generation." He stressed the need for early arrangements to obtain a clearer picture of events in Hungary and suggested that the Secretary-General might appropriately communicate urgently with Budapest to this end.

Later the same evening a second communication was received from Hungary reporting new large-scale movements of Soviet troops and requesting the Secretary-General "to call upon the great powers to recognize the neutrality of Hungary and ask the Security Council to instruct the Soviet and Hungarian Governments to start the negotiations [for withdrawal of troops] immediately."

The Security Council reconvened on November 3. Ambassador Lodge addressed a series of questions, first to the Hungarian representative (a member of the permanent Hungarian delegation was present) to provide further details on the events reported in the Hungarian communications and, second, to the Soviet representative on whether new Soviet units were entering Hungary or negotiations for Soviet withdrawal were under way. He submitted a draft resolution calling upon the U.S.S.R. to desist forthwith from any form of intervention in Hungary's internal affairs, and expressing the earnest hope that, under appropriate arrangements with Hungary, it would withdraw all Soviet forces from Hungary without delay. This proposal also affirmed the right of the Hungarian people to a government "responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being." Finally, it requested the Secretary-General to explore urgently the need of the Hungarian people for emergency supplies. At the very end of the meeting the Soviet representative, in response to probing questions from other Council members, stated that he could confirm that negotiations were going on in Budapest between Hungarian and Soviet representatives in regard to Soviet troops in Hungary. Consequently, the Council did not then vote on the U.S. proposal.

That same evening the General Assembly was pursuing its consideration of the critical Middle Eastern situation. During the meeting reports of large-scale Soviet military intervention in Hungary came in. Ambassador Lodge, supported by others, immediately requested an emergency Security Council meeting. The Council convened at 3:00 a. m. on Sunday, November 4.

Ambassador Lodge expressed concern at information received from the American Legation in Budapest reporting large-scale fighting and bombing. He reported that the Legation had granted asylum to Cardinal Mindszenty. He urged immediate action on the pending draft resolution, revised by the substitution of a provision calling upon the U.S.S.R. to cease the introduction of additional forces into Hungary and to withdraw all its forces without delay in place of the expression of hope previously included that the U.S.S.R., under appropriate arrangements with the Government of Hungary, would withdraw its forces.

Except for the Yugoslav representative who did not speak and the Soviet representative who contended no Council action was necessary, the other Council members strongly supported the U.S. proposal. It received nine affirmative votes (Australia, Belgium, China, Cuba, France, Iran, Peru, the United Kingdom, the United States) and one negative vote (U.S.S.R.). Yugoslavia did not participate. The Soviet veto blocked adoption.

Ambassador Lodge at once tabled a resolution calling for an emergency special session of the General Assembly under the "Uniting for Peace" procedure "in order to make appropriate recommendations concerning the situation in Hungary." The Soviet representative alone opposed it, arguing again that such Assembly consideration meant interference in Hungary's internal affairs. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 10 to 1 (U.S.S.R.).

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION AT SPECIAL SESSION

The General Assembly convened in special emergency session again at 4:00 p. m. Sunday, November 4. The Soviet representative immediately opposed inclusion in the agenda and any discussion of the Hungarian item on the ground it would involve intervention in Hungary's domestic affairs contrary to article 2 (7) of the Charter. His position was challenged by the Australian representative who considered that certain provisions of the Hungarian peace treaty gave the situation international character, particularly because through the Warsaw Pact the Soviet Union was seeking to use its troops to circumvent treaty provisions. By a vote of 53 to 1, with 7 abstentions, the item was inscribed.

Ambassador Lodge, speaking early in the debate, drew attention to the appeal of Hungarian Prime Minister Nagy for help from the United Nations. After several days of ominous reports, the United Nations now saw revealed a "sickening picture of duplicity and double dealing" on the part of the U.S.S.R. In this connection he noted statements in the Soviet and Eastern European press on October 28 and 29 welcoming the new liberalized leadership in Hungary that it now denounced as counterrevolutionary. He urged that the Assembly not be deceived by the cynical and wanton Soviet aggression against the Hungarian people and its government or by the creation of a puppet clique to serve the Soviet masters of Hungary.

Ambassador Lodge submitted a draft resolution upon which he sought prompt action. In its preambular paragraphs the resolution recalled those provisions of the peace treaty guaranteeing the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms and apposite Charter principles, expressed the conviction that recent events in Hungary manifested the desire of the Hungarian people to exercise and enjoy fully these rights, and condemned the use of Soviet military forces to suppress the efforts of the Hungarian people to reassert their rights. It called upon the U.S.S.R. to desist forthwith from all armed attack on the peoples of Hungary and from any form of intervention, particularly armed intervention, in Hungary's internal affairs and to cease introduction of additional armed forces and withdraw its forces without delay from Hungary and affirmed the right of the Hungarian people to a government responsive to its national aspirations and dedicated to its independence and well-being. The Secretary-General was requested to investigate and to observe the situation directly, through representatives named by him, to report to the Assembly at the earliest moment, and to suggest means to bring an end to the situation in accordance with Charter principles. The resolution also called upon Hungary and the U.S.S.R. to admit observers to Hungary and to permit them to travel freely, and upon all members to cooperate with the Secretary-General and his representatives; it requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with heads of appropriate specialized agencies, to inquire on an urgent basis into the needs of the Hungarian people for food, medicine, and other similar supplies and to report as soon as possible, asking all members to cooperate in making available emergency supplies to the Hungarian people.

The Soviet representative sought to answer the charges of Soviet intervention by alleging that the legitimate and progressive movement of the Hungarian workers was joined by "dark forces of reaction and counterrevolution" attempting to undermine Hungary's popular democracy and to reestablish capitalism. The legitimate Hungarian "people's government" required assistance from the Soviet Union, he

contended, to combat these counterrevolutionary forces, aided by imperialist powers. The Soviet representative argued further that by bringing the Hungarian situation to the United Nations, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States were seeking "to create a smoke screen in order to divert attention from the armed aggression undertaken by the United Kingdom and France against Egypt."

On French initiative the operative paragraph of the U.S. draft resolution was amplified to request the Secretary-General to investigate "the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary." Ambassador Lodge immediately accepted this amendment.

The resolution was adopted by a vote of 50 to 8 (Albania, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.), with 15 abstentions (Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia). Hungary did not participate, having received no official information or instructions from Budapest.

Later on November 4, however, the Secretary-General received a cable from Budapest declaring that "the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary" regarded the requests of the Nagy Government for United Nations discussion of the Hungarian question as having "no legal force" and that it objected to U.N. consideration because the question was within Hungary's exclusive jurisdiction.

Meantime, fighting continued in Hungary. Despite large-scale Soviet military activities the Hungarian people resisted heroically. By November 7, however, in the face of enormous odds and heavy casualties, fighting began to subside. Refugees flooded across Hungary's borders.

During these 3 days the United Nations was occupied exclusively with the equally critical situation in the Middle East: the U.N. Emergency Force was established; on November 6 the British and French announced a cease-fire in Egypt; on November 7 the Assembly called for immediate withdrawal of British, French, and Israeli forces from Egypt; and the Secretary-General began arrangements for putting UNEF into the area.

With one critical phase of the Middle Eastern situation behind it, the General Assembly, on November 8, resumed consideration of the Hungarian situation. At the outset a number of delegates explained their vote on the November 4 resolution. Most of the delegations abstaining based their position on lack of information, obscurity of the actual situation in Hungary, and the desirability of not acting hastily. However, all expressed grave concern over the armed intervention of the Soviet Union.

Following up the November 4 resolution, Italy, Cuba, Ireland, Pakistan, and Peru jointly submitted a resolution whereby, after

noting with deep concern the nonimplementation of the November 4 resolution, the Assembly would again call upon the U.S.S.R. to withdraw its forces. It would further consider that free elections should be held in Hungary under U.N. auspices as soon as law and order had been restored and would reaffirm the request to the Secretary-General to continue to investigate the situation through his representatives and to report on compliance in the shortest possible time.

Many delegations also expressed their willingness to contribute to the relief needs of the Hungarian people. These sentiments were given form in a two-part resolution submitted by the United States on November 9 dealing with the needs of the Hungarian people for emergency assistance. The resolution called upon the U.S.S.R. to cease actions against the Hungarian people in violation of accepted standards and principles of international law, justice, and morality. It called upon the Hungarian authorities to facilitate, and the Soviet Union not to interfere with, the distribution of relief supplies and to cooperate fully with the U.N. specialized agencies and other international organizations, such as the International Red Cross. The second part of the resolution requested the Secretary-General to call upon the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees to consult with other appropriate international agencies and interested governments with a view to making speedy and effective arrangements for emergency assistance to the increasingly large number of refugees seeking asylum in neighboring countries and urging members to make special contributions for this purpose.

In introducing this resolution, Ambassador Lodge called attention to President Eisenhower's announcement the preceding evening that 5,000 refugees would be admitted to the United States. He also announced that the United States would vote for the five-power resolution.

Meantime, Austria introduced another resolution dealing with relief activities. It was drafted to eliminate all references to the cause of the fighting in Hungary, particularly Soviet armed intervention, on the assumption that greater relief assistance might be forthcoming if placed exclusively on humanitarian grounds. This assumption was also reflected in amendments to the two-part U.S. draft resolution proposed by Indonesia, Ceylon, and India which deleted all references to Soviet intervention.

These amendments were strongly opposed by Cuba and the United States. Ambassador Lodge pointed out that his Government possessed first-hand information regarding Soviet interference with the distribution of relief supplies and Soviet actions against Hungarian civilians in violation of accepted international standards. There was no point in saying that certain things were not happening when in

fact they were; the United Nations was a moral organization with a moral standard, and morality could not be ignored. The Indian representative rejoined that a remedy to the Hungarian situation could "not be found in throwing political stones at people whom one does not like"; moreover, all delegations did not have access to information confirming Soviet actions in Hungary and the Secretary-General had not yet reported to the Assembly on the situation.

The Assembly voted on the three draft resolutions and amendments on November 9. The five-power resolution was adopted by a vote of 48 to 11 (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, India, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia), with 16 abstentions (Afghanistan, Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, Haiti, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen). Next the Assembly rejected the amendments submitted by Ceylon, Indonesia, and India to the U.S. resolution by a vote of 45 to 18 (Afghanistan, Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Finland, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Nepal, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia), with 12 abstentions (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Laos, Rumania, Thailand, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.). The U.S. resolution was then adopted by a vote of 53 to 9 (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.), with 13 abstentions (Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia).

Finally the Assembly adopted the Austrian resolution by a vote of 67 to 0, with 8 abstentions (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Liberia, Rumania, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.).

Following the vote, Ambassador James J. Wadsworth, referring to both the U.S. and the Austrian resolutions, announced that the U.S. Government was immediately making available $1,000,000 to the Secretary-General for use through appropriate channels for assistance to Hungarian refugees.

On November 10, to enable the imminent 11th regular session of the General Assembly to continue consideration of the Hungarian situation, the United States submitted a proposal to place the situation in Hungary on the agenda of that session. The Hungarian delegation opposed this resolution on the grounds that the subject fell within Hungary's domestic jurisdiction. Supporting this contention, the Soviet representative charged that certain circles in the United States, the United Kingdom, and France were intervening in Hungary's domestic affairs in violation of the Charter and to divert the Assembly's attention from current international questions of "utmost importance." However, the United States proposal received widespread

support, with India, among others, noting that the Assembly had requested the Secretary-General to report and clearly was obligated to receive his report. After acceptance of an Italian amendment adding a provision referring to the 11th session the relevant records of the second emergency special session, the resolution was adopted by a vote of 53 to 9, with 8 abstentions.

SECRETARY-GENERAL'S EFFORTS

Acting under the November 4 resolution, the Secretary-General on November 8 addressed an aide memoire to the Hungarian Foreign Minister asking whether Hungary was willing to admit his observers. On November 10 he addressed a second aide memoire to the Hungarian Foreign Minister. Noting that he had received no reply to the question whether Hungary would be willing to permit his observers to enter its territory in pursuance of the Assembly's November 4 resolution, he asked for a reply without further delay. He added that a copy of the aide memoire had also been given to the Soviet representative, with a request for his assistance. If a reply were not forthcoming shortly, the Secretary-General stated he would be obliged to submit the situation to the Assembly. The same day he received a cable from the Deputy Foreign Minister of Hungary acknowledging receipt of the aide memoire and stating that its contents were being studied. On November 11 a second cable from the Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister stated that the text of the November 4 resolution "for technical reasons" was not yet available. Finally, on November 12 the Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of Hungary replied in detail but completely negatively. The Hungarian cable alleged that, in the course of mass demonstrations in Hungary, organized Fascist elements and ordinary criminals had taken over the government. To restore law and order and to prevent the danger of fascism, the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government had been obliged to request the aid of Soviet troops. After restoration of order it would immediately negotiate with the U.S.S.R. for their withdrawal. The settlement of the situation in Hungary lay "exclusively within the internal legal competence of the Hungarian state," and any Assembly resolution was "illegal." Since Soviet troops were present at Hungarian request, the sending of representatives by the Secretary-General was "not warranted." Elections fell entirely within Hungary's competence. The cable went on to state that the Hungarian Government would make it possible for those Hungarians who fled abroad "as a result of the battles" to return freely and without harm. It also expressed Hungary's intention to facilitate the receipt and distribution of food

and medicine, its cooperation with the International Red Cross, and its readiness to cooperate fully with U.N. agencies. After final assessment of the damages and the needs to meet them the Hungarian Government would inform the Secretary-General and meanwhile would accept gratefully all food, clothing, and medicine for Hungarian families who faced a difficult winter.

On November 10 the Secretary-General had addressed another aide memoire to the Hungarian Foreign Minister referring exclusively to the provisions of the various resolutions regarding relief assistance and aid to refugees and requesting information concerning needs of the Hungarian people for medical supplies, foodstuffs, and clothing from abroad. The next day a cablegram was received listing the most urgent needs in foodstuffs and medical supplies. It concluded by stating the readiness of the Hungarian Government "to conduct talks on the best means of providing the assistance required, as well as how the representatives appointed by the Secretary-General might participate in organizing assistance on the spot."

The Secretary-General replied to the Hungarian cable of November 12 on November 13, noting with satisfaction the observations on the resolutions regarding relief activities. With regard to the views expressed on the Assembly's resolution of November 4, he stated that "it would not be to the purpose" for him to enter upon a discussion concerning the Assembly's decision on November 4. The Secretary-General invited Hungary to reconsider its judgment that the sending of representatives appointed by him was not warranted "in the light of the opposite views so widely expressed by member governments in the General Assembly and reflected in the vote and, as a member of the United Nations, to cooperate with the great majority in the clarification of a situation which has given rise to such concern in the General Assembly."

On November 13 the Permanent Soviet Mission, in a note verbale to the Secretary-General replying to the latter's November 10 memorandum, stated that the Soviet position on the November 4 resolution had already been made clear and remained unchanged. As regards the dispatch of observers, the U.S.S.R. considered that this matter lay exclusively within Hungarian jurisdiction.

On November 15 the Hungarian Government again cabled the Secretary-General. Referring to his cable of November 13 and to discussions he had carried on in New York with the Hungarian Foreign Minister, it stated that Hungarian representatives would be glad to meet him in Rome at a convenient time to negotiate on aid and to "exchange views about the position taken by the Hungarian Government regarding the resolutions of the United Nations."

The next day the Secretary-General responded from Cairo to the suggested meeting in Rome. Noting that this represented a counter-

proposal to his own oral offer in New York to come to Budapest for a discussion of the basis for humanitarian activities by the United Nations, he explained that he had made the offer "to discuss in Budapest in view of the value of broader personal contact with those who would be directly concerned with the matter." In the new circumstances he concluded that he would discuss the above matters with the Foreign Minister upon his return to New York.

Also, on November 16, the Secretary-General communicated to all members the names of the individuals whom he had appointed to investigate the situation in Hungary. They were Judge Oscar Gundersen, Norway; Arthur Lall, India; and Alberto Lleras, Colombia.

ACTION AT THE ELEVENTH SESSION

Reports had mounted of continued harsh and repressive measures against the people of Hungary and, in particular, of widespread mass deportations of Hungarian citizens to the Soviet Union. On November 15 a Cuban draft resolution was circulated calling upon the Soviet Government and the Hungarian authorities to take immediate steps to cease forced deportations and recommending that the Secretary-General implement this resolution as a matter of urgency. In the ensuing days the resolution was revised by the addition of references to particular information regarding mass deportations and by tying this question to the broader Hungarian problem by a provision in which the Assembly would express its opinion that the information of new repressive measures added urgency to the need for prompt compliance with previous Assembly resolutions calling for Soviet withdrawal and for the dispatch of U.N. observers.

It was by now apparent to the great majority of members that there was little, if any, prospect for Hungarian cooperation with the Secretary-General. Therefore, and in light of further alarming developments reported from Budapest, the Assembly resumed consideration of the situation in Hungary on November 19. At the opening of the meeting the Hungarian representative was recognized to read the text of a communique issued by the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Hungary on November 18. That communique referred to provocative rumors regarding mass arrests and deportations and contended that, while individuals were being arrested in the course of the Government's "vital need to search for and render harmless counterrevolutionaries, terrorists, anti-social instigators and armed bandits or other common criminals," the rumors concerning mass deportation were simply counterrevolutionary inventions. The individuals arrested were carefully investigated, it was stated, and when it was established that no offense had been committed were

released without delay. Otherwise, such individuals were handed over to the competent Hungarian court for the purpose of legal proceedings. These arguments convinced few.

The Cuban representative described graphically what he termed a "reign of terror" in Hungary involving the slaughter of defenseless citizens in violation of the Genocide Convention, the U.N. Charter, and the Treaty of Peace between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers. He indicated the action contemplated by his draft resolution of November 15 was fully warranted.

The Hungarian representative sharply dissented and argued again that his Government was simply dealing with counterrevolutionary elements and that the situation in Hungary had returned to normal. The remaining source of difficulty, he charged, lay in subversive activities organized by the United States under the Mutual Security Act, broadcasts by Radio Free Europe, and smuggling of arms to Fascist elements from neighboring countries. His views were supported by the Soviet delegate and other Soviet-bloc spokesmen who characterized the Cuban initiative as provocative, slanderous, and based on monstrous misinformation and rumors.

On the other hand, many representatives expressed the view that mass deportations of hundreds of Hungarian citizens had occurred as the final step in a process of cruel repression in Hungary; otherwise, there was no conceivable reason for the Hungarian regime to deny access to Hungary to the Secretary-General or to his observers.

Ambassador Lodge strongly supported the Cuban resolution. He denied the charges against the United States though he made clear that the American people opposed oppression anywhere. Again he called for an impartial investigation in Hungary. In urging support for the Cuban draft, Ambassador Lodge said that while it would not bring back to life those who have been killed, some word of it might get through and give some assurance to the brave men and women of Hungary that they are not forgotten. Furthermore, he emphasized, "word of it will certainly get through all over the free world and will add to the weight of condemnation which is raising such havoc with international communism."

El Salvador submitted an amendment that would refer specifically to article 2 (4) of the Charter and make clear that Soviet interference in Hungary violated its explicit Charter obligation to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state.

On November 20 a second cable came from Budapest commenting on the Cuban resolution. The cable asserted that "contrary to the tendentious rumors, the fact is that not a single arrested person has been deported from the territory of Hungary." The receipt of this cable, however, did not in any way affect the course of the debate.

Nevertheless, on November 19 a resolution embodying a different approach to the problem of mass deportations was submitted by Ceylon, India, and Indonesia. As later revised, the resolution, after preambular paragraphs noting the various statements regarding deportations and recalling the efforts of the Secretary-General to gain admission of his observers to Hungary, would urge Hungary to accede to the Secretary-General's request "without prejudice to its sovereignty" and would request the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly without delay.

Belgium proposed amendments modifying the preambular provisions slightly and changing the two operative paragraphs substantially by urging Hungary to accede outright to the request that observers be permitted to enter Hungary and requesting the Secretary-General to report to the General Assembly within 72 hours.

The Indonesian representative, supporting the three-power resolution, stressed the difficulty of verifying the reported mass deportations and urged the need for impartial clarification before the Assembly recommended action. Since the Secretary-General was already in touch with the Hungarian authorities, he could surely also take up the question of mass deportations. The Indian representative added the argument that the Assembly must stand unqualifiedly by the sovereignty of Hungary and its right to order its affairs without any external pressures; the request to Hungary to cooperate with the Secretary-General was phrased to meet this criterion. In his opinion Hungary would not disregard a request for cooperation if it came from virtually all sections of opinion in the General Assembly without any attempt to condemn or to interfere. He accepted the Belgian changes in the preamble but regarded the request for the Secretary-General to report within 72 hours as impractical, suggesting instead the phrase "without delay," which Belgium accepted. The other Belgian amendments were not acceptable, he said, and, in particular, the phrase "without prejudice to its sovereignty," which was proposed for deletion, was vital to the Indian concept of Hungary's independence and national sovereignty.

In response to inquiries, the Secretary-General stated that Hungary had replied to his communications in such a way as not to exclude the possibility of his discussing both the humanitarian and the broader aspects of the problem.

The Ceylonese representative urged unanimous action on the three-power resolution. If Hungary refused to accept observers, the Assembly would then be obliged to conclude that Hungary had done something that it should not have done. He stressed the necessity for proceeding step by step and argued that it was illogical to call upon Hungary and the Soviet Union to cease deportations since

that implied deportations had occurred prior to the establishment of this fact by impartial investigation.

Late in the afternoon of November 21 the Assembly came to the vote. The Hungarian representative stated Hungary would vote against both pending resolutions and specified that Hungary's willingness to hold discussions with the Secretary-General related solely to relief problems.

The Cuban resolution as amended was adopted by a vote of 55 to 10 (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia), with 14 abstentions (Afghanistan, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen).

Next the Indian resolution was put to the vote. At the request of the Philippines, a separate vote was taken on the words "without prejudice to its sovereignty" in the first operative paragraph. India indicated that if this section were deleted, the proposal would be withdrawn. The words, however, were adopted by a vote of 43 to 6, with 30 abstentions. After being voted upon in parts, the Indian resolution was adopted by a vote of 57 to 8 (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.) with 14 abstentions (Chile, China, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Egypt, Ethiopia, Jordan, Panama, Paraguay, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia).

Assistance to Refugees

The Assembly then turned to the refugee problem on the basis of a joint resolution submitted by Argentina, Belgium, Denmark, and the United States. That resolution, after preambular paragraphs noting the grave situation described in the report of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and recognizing the urgent need of the tens of thousands of refugees for care and resettlement, took note with appreciation of the actions of the Secretary-General and of the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees to assist the Hungarian refugees and requested the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner to continue their efforts. It also urged governments and nongovernmental organizations to make contributions to the Secretary-General and High Commissioner or to other appropriate agencies for the care and resettlement of Hungarian refugees and to coordinate their aid programs in consultation with the High Commissioner, requested the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner to make an immediate appeal to governments and nongovernmental agencies

to meet the minimum present needs, and authorized them to make subsequent appeals on the basis of plans and estimates made by the High Commissioner with the concurrence of his Advisory Committee. Hungary submitted an amendment deleting the preambular paragraphs except for the last provision which would be modified to read "recognizing the urgent need of Hungarian refugees for care" and adding a further operative paragraph which, after taking note of the Hungarian declaration calling upon the refugees to return, would recommend to the governments of the countries concerned "to take urgent measures in order to secure a speedy return to Hungary of Hungarian nationals who as a result of the present situation became refugees."

The Assembly also had before it an interim report submitted by the Secretary-General on the problem of Hungarian refugees, stating that from October 28 to November 18, 34,000 refugees had entered Austria and that, although some of these had now gone to other countries, the flow of refugees from Hungary averaged 2,000 a day. A few other refugees had gone to Yugoslavia, but the problem in that country was by no means as serious as that in Austria. An increased effort was required to provide resources through which emergency assistance could be given to those refugees arriving in Austria. Financial estimates covering all aspects of the situation resulted in an estimated cost for 6 months of $6,530,000.

In introducing the four-power resolution the U.S. representative, Senator William Knowland, explained that the purpose was to provide for coordination and planning of the relief operations in Austria through a single organization, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. He opposed the Hungarian amendments, emphasizing that the free nations of the world would certainly not agree to forced repatriation.

This resolution also was voted on November 21. The Hungarian amendments were decisively rejected. Thereafter, the four-power resolution was adopted by a vote of 69 to 2 (Hungary, Rumania), with 8 abstentions (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Sudan, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.). [See also Part II, p. 189.]

Report of the Secretary-General

On November 30 the Secretary-General submitted a comprehensive report on his activities under the various resolutions on Hungary adopted by the General Assembly. He recalled that the main decisions covered withdrawal of troops from Hungary and related questions, including deportations, investigation of the situation caused by foreign intervention in Hungary, and humanitarian activities, including as-

sistance to refugees. His report of November 19, he noted, had covered the refugee problem.

On the political aspects of the problem, the Secretary-General explained that on November 28 he had transmitted letters to the Hungarian and Soviet delegations, respectively, drawing attention to the several resolutions adopted on November 21 and requesting information on points to be taken into account in an interim report. On November 29 the Soviet delegation had replied, recalling its November 13 communication, and, as regards the November 19 resolution, drawing attention to the Soviet speech of November 19 contending that "allegations of the deportation of Hungarian citizens to the U.S.S.R. are based on slanderous rumors circulated by certain groups for the purpose of misleading public opinion." No reply from Hungary had been received. No information was available concerning steps to establish compliance with Assembly decisions regarding troop withdrawal and related political matters.

The Secretary-General also reviewed his efforts to obtain permission for observers to enter Hungary. He continued to hope for a positive reaction to his offer to go personally to Budapest, which was still under consideration by the Hungarian Government. If he were invited, he would organize his visit to cover not only the humanitarian activities but also the other Assembly resolutions. His contact with the Hungarian Government should also be considered "as based on his position under the Charter, with the wider scope that such a standpoint might give to his approach." He also explained that the group of three individuals engaged in investigation of the situation had been examining material available to the Secretariat, but that the group would be unable to report until it could coordinate its findings with those that might result from the process of direct observations in Hungary. Humanitarian assistance, he reported, was well in hand.

On December 3 the Secretary-General received and circulated a cable from the Acting Hungarian Foreign Minister. It maintained that permission for observers to enter Hungary would violate its sovereignty, contrary to Charter principles. It reiterated Hungary's willingness to instruct its representatives to negotiate with the Secretary-General in Rome or New York and added that it was "ready to welcome" the Secretary-General in Budapest "at a later date as appropriate for both parties."

Further Assembly Consideration

On December 2 a new resolution submitted jointly by Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Cuba, Denmark, El Salvador, Ireland, Italy, the

Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States was circulated. Preambular provisions recalled the earlier Assembly resolutions and noted the report of the Secretary-General and also the failure of the Soviet Union to comply with provisions calling upon it to desist from intervention in Hungary's internal affairs, to cease deportations, and to withdraw its armed forces and cease its repression in Hungary. The operative provisions reiterated the call upon the U.S.S.R. and the Hungarian authorities to comply with the Assembly's resolutions and to permit observers to enter Hungarian territory, travel freely therein, and report their findings to the Secretary-General; requested the two governments to communicate to the Secretary-General not later than December 7 their consent to receive U.N. observers; recommended that meantime the Secretary-General arrange for dispatch of his observers to Hungary and other countries as appropriate; and requested all members to cooperate with the Secretary-General's representatives for this purpose.

The General Assembly resumed consideration of the situation in Hungary on December 3. The Hungarian representative, while again protesting Assembly consideration, emphasized that Hungary was ready to receive the Secretary-General in Hungary, the date of his visit to be fixed by agreement. He was careful, however, not to make a specific commitment.

In the ensuing discussion a number of delegations took the position that the General Assembly must continue to do everything within its power to assist the Hungarian people and that it clearly could not defer to the "shameless flouting of its injunctions" and maintain its integrity. Since the Secretary-General still hoped to achieve compliance with the Assembly's earlier resolutions, there was a general consensus that the Assembly should also make one last effort to this end before moving on to more drastic measures. The 14-power resolution met this view by repeating the call on the Hungarian and Soviet authorities but also setting a deadline for compliance after which, in the absence of compliance, the Assembly could consider what additional steps should be taken.

Ambassador Lodge emphasized the need for the Secretary-General to visit Hungary early enough and with sufficient freedom to do some good; an invitation from Hungary for a visit at a distant date would not constitute compliance. The complete contempt of the Soviet Union and of the Hungarian authorities for the provisions of the Charter, as well as their callous disregard for human decency, had been amply demonstrated. No one could argue that the Assembly had acted hastily or failed to give both governments every opportunity to fulfill their Charter obligations. The time had now come, Ambassador Lodge said, "for one final appeal," but the Assembly must also set a deadline for response.

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Many other delegations, from all areas, appealed for Hungarian cooperation and for the admission of observers. There was widespread sentiment that Hungary's continued refusal to cooperate with the Secretary-General raised serious questions concerning the true state of affairs there. Serious doubts were also expressed about the representative character of the Kadar regime.

Seeking to answer some of these charges, the Hungarian representative argued at length that the only difficulties Hungary was now experiencing came about as a consequence of Western interference and because Western countries had sent arms to Fascist elements within Hungary. All the United Nations should do, he contended, was "to help the Hungarian people to return to normalcy." He announced that Hungary was ready and willing to cooperate in any international humanitarian mission and to receive the Secretary-General of the United Nations. He had been instructed, he said, to keep in continuous contact with the latter concerning his journey to Hungary, humanitarian relief, relevant information, and other questions. To implement the invitation he was ready at any time convenient to the Secretary-General to meet with him "to discuss the settlement of the date and arrangements for the visit."

The Secretary-General expressed gratification at this clarification and indicated his intention of immediately getting in touch with the Hungarian representative. The situation remained sufficiently unclear, however, that Ambassador Lodge, in pointing out that the Hungarian representative had limited his commitment to discussing the settlement of a date rather than to setting a date, proposed a 1-hour recess during which the Secretary-General and the Hungarian representative could fix a definite date. If within that period no arrangements were completed, he believed that the Assembly should act on the pending resolution. Because of other commitments, however, the President of the Assembly without dissent recessed the Assembly for a period of approximately 4 hours.

When the Assembly reconvened, the Secretary-General reported on his discussion with the Hungarian representative. Since other matters made it impossible for him to be absent from headquarters for another week, he had proposed arriving in Budapest on December 16, remaining there through December 18. Meantime, he planned to send a Secretariat representative to Budapest to make advance arrangements.

The delay involved in these arrangements led a number of delegations to conclude that action on the 14-power resolution was still relevant. Ambassador Lodge, for example, pointed out that the pending proposal did not in any way conflict with the prospective arrangements for the Secretary-General's visit but was complementary. The Indian representative took the opposite position, though he empha-

sized the moral duty of every member to admit the Secretary-General at any time except on grounds involving his personal safety. Moreover, he objected to provisions of the resolution for sending observers into neighboring countries. He formally moved that the Assembly accept the statement of the Secretary-General.

The Assembly, however, decided to proceed with the vote on the 14-power resolution. Following a paragraph by paragraph vote, it was adopted by a vote of 54 to 10 (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia), with 14 abstentions (Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen).

The Indian delegate then reminded the President of his pending motion for acceptance of the Secretary-General's statement. Ambassador Lodge expressed his intention of voting affirmatively. Despite some question concerning the propriety of such action since the Assembly as a matter of practice always accepted reports from the Secretary-General without voting upon them, the Indian motion was adopted by a vote of 54 to 9, with 23 abstentions.

Condemnatory Action

On December 12 the Permanent Hungarian Mission, in a note to the Secretary-General, stated that December 16, the date designated by the Secretary-General for a visit to Budapest, was "not appropriate" for Hungary. "On the other hand," the note concluded, Hungary would "at a later date, set forth a proposal through its representative in New York for the purpose of reaching agreement" on the Secretary-General's visit.

In the meantime the Secretary-General had communicated the text of the Assembly's resolution of December 5 not only to the Hungarian and Soviet representatives but also, pursuant to the recommendation that observers should be dispatched to neighboring countries, to the permanent representatives of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia. Except for Austria, the replies were negative.

In these circumstances consultations on further action took place among the cosponsors of the December 5 resolution. On December 9 Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, Denmark, El Salvador, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Sweden, Thailand, and the United States tabled a draft resolution. Later Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Spain, and Turkey were added to the cosponsors. As finally revised the resolution recalled the previous Assembly decisions, and reports of the Secretary-

General, and noted with grave concern the absence of a reply to the latest appeal for admission of observers. Its operative portions went beyond any action ever taken by the Assembly. First, the Assembly would declare that "by using its armed force against the Hungarian people the Government of the U.S.S.R. is violating the political independence of Hungary"; and would condemn "the violation of the Charter by the Government of the U.S.S.R. in depriving Hungary of its liberty and independence and the Hungarian people of the exercise of their fundamental rights." The resolution went on to reiterate the Assembly's call on the U.S.S.R. to desist from intervention in Hungary's internal affairs and to call upon the U.S.S.R. to make immediate arrangements for withdrawal of its armed forces from Hungary under United Nations observation and to permit reestablishment of Hungary's political independence. Finally, it would request the Secretary-General "to take any initiative that he deems helpful in relation to the Hungarian problem in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the General Assembly."

On December 10 Ceylon, India, and Indonesia submitted a series of amendments to the 20-power proposal primarily designed to remove the sharp condemnation of the Soviet Union. A new preambular paragraph, subsequently accepted by the cosponsors, was proposed that would note "the overwhelming demand of the Hungarian people for the cessation of intervention of foreign armed forces and the withdrawal of foreign troops." The amendments sought to substitute for the first operative paragraph a provision whereby the Assembly would declare "that intervention of Soviet armed forces in Hungary should cease and that arrangements for their withdrawal should be made so that violence and noncooperation will cease and the restoration of peaceful conditions be rendered possible." For the second operative paragraph (condemning the U.S.S.R.), it was proposed that the Assembly simply urge Hungary and the U.S.S.R. "to promote the realization of the above in accordance with the purposes of the Charter and the declared intentions of the two countries." Deletion of the final operative paragraph of the 20-power draft was also proposed, substituting for it provisions declaring that recent events in Hungary "have shown that the use of force and violence cannot bring about or promote a solution of the grave situation in Hungary, but have aggravated it and imposed severe privations and denials of freedom on the Hungarian people"; expressing the conviction that "the interests and freedom of the Hungarian people can only be furthered if there is neither foreign intervention nor the apprehension of external pressure from any quarter"; and requesting the Secretary-General to initiate efforts, both with Hungary and the U.S.S.R. in New York, and to consider

without delay the question of visiting Moscow, as well as Budapest, to assist in promoting a speedy solution. These amendments were also embodied in a separate draft resolution.

Austria submitted a resolution according to which the Assembly would authorize the Secretary-General to undertake immediately "to achieve a constructive solution of the Hungarian problem" based on Charter principles, for this purpose to enter into appropriate negotiations with members, and to report to the Assembly on the results of his efforts, if possible before the end of the first part of the 11th session.

As Assembly debate began on December 10, the Cuban representative explained that his delegation had not cosponsored the 20-power resolution because it added nothing to past resolutions and failed to deal with the pressing deportation problem. Moreover, at the least, the resolution should provide for temporary suspension of the Hungarian representatives, if not for their expulsion.

The Indian representative contended that the time had come to use the whole machinery of the United Nations for conciliation. He saw value in reiterating the general principles involved in the Assembly's actions and particularly the widespread sentiment that intervention by force in Hungary's affairs should not be tolerated. However, as regards the 20-power resolution, he made plain that, while in agreement with many parts of it, he could not subscribe either to its phraseology or the implications of certain paragraphs and would consequently abstain unless the "constructive" amendments proposed by Ceylon, India, and Indonesia were adopted. The Indian representative stated that the separate resolution embodying these amendments would not be pressed to a vote if the cosponsors incorporated the amendments in their resolution.

A different approach was urged by the Austrian representative who believed, in line with the Austrian proposal, that the Secretary-General should be authorized to use his ability as a mediator in solving the Hungarian question.

A number of delegations expressed support for all three pending proposals. Only the Soviet bloc continued to oppose any action.

At the morning session on December 11, the Hungarian representative announced that continued discussion of the Hungarian question by the Assembly was "incompatible with Hungary's sovereignty and the national honor of the Hungarian people" and declared that his delegation would not participate in the work of the 11th session "so long as the discussion of the Hungarian question did not proceed in the spirit of the U.N. Charter." He thereupon withdrew from the Assembly, and representatives from Hungary participated in no further meetings of the 11th session on the Hungarian question or any other subject.

On the final day of the discussion Ambassador Lodge made clear that while there was much in the amendments that the United States approved, they tended to give the impression that the Assembly was retreating from principles previously agreed upon. He believed that the time had come not only for reaffirmation of previous decisions but also for a deliberate expression of the Assembly's convictions about the true character of the situation. In particular he strongly opposed the amendment deleting the condemnation of the U.S.S.R.; it was now time for the Assembly to condemn Soviet action in depriving Hungary of its freedom and independence. He also objected to the amendment relating to further initiatives by the Secretary-General, prospectively in Moscow and Budapest, since such authority was inherent in the office of the Secretary-General, and the Assembly had already asked the Secretary-General, in its November 4 resolution, to suggest means to bring an end to the foreign intervention in Hungary. However, there was one basic consideration behind this amendment that the 20 cosponsors had incorporated in the final operative paragraph of their draft, i. e., the request to the Secretary-General to take any initiative that he might deem helpful.

Except for points incorporated by agreement in the 20-power text, the Indian amendments were decisively rejected. The 20-power resolution, after a paragraph-by-paragraph vote on individual provisions, was adopted on December 12 by a vote of 55 to 8 (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.), with 13 abstentions (Afghanistan, Cambodia, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia).

Following the vote the Indian representative announced that because of the defeat of the three-power amendments, India, Ceylon, and Indonesia would not press their own draft resolution. He contended that, the Assembly having already adopted a contrary resolution, the constructive steps envisaged in the three-power approach were no longer possible.

The Austrian representative had announced previously that he would not seek a vote on his draft if the 20-power proposal were adopted. His reason was the incorporation in the latter of the provision for further initiative by the Secretary-General in the situation.

There were no further developments on the situation in Hungary before the Assembly recessed for Christmas.

Special Committee of Investigation

On January 5, the Secretary-General reported again on his action pursuant to the various Assembly resolutions. He explained that the

three individuals appointed by him to investigate the situation in Hungary had reported on December 15 that they had been able to do no more than examine the available and generally known material in New York about the situation in Hungary which had not put them "in a position to add anything significant to what is common knowledge about the situation in Hungary." They also noted that only one country had found it possible to offer facilities for observation. Consequently, the investigators concluded that in the absence of observation in Hungary and cooperation from the governments directly concerned "there would be little purpose" in their attempting "an assessment of the present situation or of recent events." In these circumstances they questioned whether it was not best to suspend the investigation process for the present and to reexamine it later.

The Secretary-General drew special attention to this latter point, emphasizing that there had still been no opportunity for U.N. representatives to make direct observations in Hungary, and the only new and direct source of information might be hearings of Hungarian refugees conducted in neighboring countries. He reported that Austria was prepared to receive observers for this purpose and that the United States and Italy had also offered to cooperate in making refugees available for hearings. While additional points of significance might be established in this way, he pointed out that in order to yield valuable results, such hearings would have to be extensive and organized "in a juridically satisfactory form." Meantime he would continue to try to further the aims of the General Assembly pursuant to its resolution of December 12 but hesitated to initiate further investigatory activities, including hearings for refugees. He specifically raised the question whether the Assembly should not establish a special *ad hoc* committee to assume the activities of the investigators and pursue them under broader terms of reference; such a committee could observe developments on a continuing basis and thereby facilitate further Assembly consideration.

On January 8 a new resolution was submitted, taking account of the Secretary-General's report. As finally revised by its cosponsors (Argentina, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Liberia, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Spain, Sweden, Thailand, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States), the resolution established a special committee composed of representatives of Australia, Ceylon, Denmark, Tunisia, and Uruguay "to investigate, and to establish and maintain direct observation in Hungary and elsewhere, taking testimony, collecting evidence, and receiving information, as appropriate" in order to report to the 11th session of

the Assembly and thereafter to prepare additional reports. It further called for Soviet and Hungarian cooperation with the committee; requested all members to assist it in any appropriate way, making available relevant information including testimony and evidence; invited the Secretary-General to render the committee appropriate assistance; called upon all members to give effect to this and previous Assembly resolutions on Hungary; and reaffirmed the request to the Secretary-General to "continue to take any initiative that he deems helpful" in relation to the Hungarian question.

The Assembly took up the draft resolution on January 9. Ambassador Lodge drew attention to the Secretary-General's observations with respect to the problem of observation in Hungary. He emphasized the need for the Assembly to receive "the fullest information regarding the situation created by the attack of the Soviet Union on the Hungarians and on the developments which relate to the recommendations of the General Assembly on this subject." Consequently the United States favored, he said, establishment of a committee of governments to investigate and report on these matters to the present Assembly and thereafter as appropriate. He expressed the belief that adoption of the 24-power resolution would reaffirm the Assembly's objectives and provide it with a means of insuring a flow of information on Hungarian developments.

The overwhelming majority of members supported the draft resolution, and again only the Soviet bloc opposed it, on the grounds of intervention in Hungary's internal affairs.

On January 10 the Assembly adopted the 24-power resolution on a rollcall vote of 59 to 8 (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.), with 10 abstentions (Afghanistan, Cuba, Egypt, Finland, India, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Yugoslavia).

On January 11 a note verbale was circulated by the Secretary-General to all members on behalf of the Hungarian delegation protesting the draft resolution establishing the special committee as violating Hungarian sovereignty.

The special committee established by this resolution held its first meeting in New York January 17, 1957. Alsing Andersen of Denmark was elected chairman and K. C. O. Shann of Australia, rapporteur. The other three representatives were R. S. S. Gunewardene of Ceylon, Mongi Slim of Tunisia, and E. R. Fabregat of Uruguay. On February 20 the special committee submitted an interim report to the General Assembly describing its initial activities. It explained that on January 28 a communication was addressed to all members requesting information relevant to its task. It had also requested governments with diplomatic representatives in Budapest to submit any

special information they might have. The committee reported that the Hungarian regime had denied entrance to Hungary to its members. In the meantime the committee had proceeded to hear witnesses from among Hungarian refugees in the United States and proposed to follow up these hearings in Europe. Early in March the committee left for Geneva and planned to visit Vienna, Rome, London, and Paris and to make further efforts to gain admission to Hungary.

Having in mind the prospect of a further report from the special committee, the General Assembly when it recessed on March 8, specifically provided for its reconvening as necessary to consider the situation in Hungary, as well as the situation in the Middle East.

Status of Hungary in the Assembly

The Hungarian delegation never resumed participation in the Assembly after its walkout early in December. When the Assembly's Credentials Committee examined the credentials of all Assembly delegations on February 12, 1957, the U.S. representative, Ambassador James J. Wadsworth, submitted a motion "that the Committee take no decision regarding the credentials submitted on behalf of the representatives of Hungary." He pointed out that the Hungarian credentials had been issued by authorities established through military intervention by a foreign power whose forces remained in Hungary despite requests by the Assembly for their withdrawal. His motion was adopted by a vote of 8 to 1. Plenary action was taken on the Credentials Committee report on February 21, and its decision approved.

Soviet Propaganda Items

In an obvious effort to divert the Assembly's attention from Hungary and to obscure the real causes of tension in Eastern Europe, the U.S.S.R. on December 11, 1956, requested the inclusion on the agenda of the 11th General Assembly as an important and urgent item: "Intervention by the United States of America in the domestic affairs of the People's Democracies and its subversive activity against those States." In its explanatory memorandum the U.S.S.R. alleged that the United States was responsible for the dispatch of large numbers of specially trained agents for subversive and espionage activities in Eastern Europe; denounced the annual appropriation by the U.S. Congress of funds under the Mutual Security Act; and referred to incitement by broadcasts, including Radio Free Europe, the release of balloons bearing printed matter, and state-

ments addressed to the peoples of Eastern Europe by responsible statesmen in the United States. This Soviet charge was such a blatant propaganda maneuver Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge immediately declared, "Let Moscow admit United Nations observers to Hungary and the world will soon know whether this Soviet charge is true or false."

The General Committee on December 13, 1956, considered the Soviet request. The U.S. representative, Ambassador James J. Wadsworth, announced that the United States would favor inscription because it was anxious to have the full truth known. After discussion during which exception was taken by several representatives to the designation of certain states as "people's democracies," the General Committee decided by a vote of 12 (including the United States) to 1 (Dominican Republic), with 2 abstentions (China and Turkey) to recommend the inclusion of the item under the title "Complaint by the U.S.S.R. of intervention by the U.S.A. in the domestic affairs of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and the U.S.S.R., and its subversive activity against those States." Despite Soviet insistence on immediate plenary discussion, the committee decided to recommend allocation of the item to the Special Political Committee. Its recommendations were approved by the Assembly on December 14.

Before the Special Political Committee reached the Soviet complaint, its final agenda item, the Soviet delegation, on February 12, 1957, submitted another "important and urgent item" for inclusion: "Question of aggressive acts by the U.S.A. constituting a threat to peace and security." In its explanatory memorandum the Soviet delegation charged that (1) the President's message of January 5, 1957, concerning the Middle East; (2) a reported plan to establish and station abroad special U.S. military units armed with atomic weapons; (3) the proposed U.S. budget for 1957–58; (4) the network of U.S. military bases on foreign territory; and (5) "aggressive military measures connected with the North Atlantic bloc" constituted "new steps, further straining relations among States and increasing the danger of war." On February 14, 1957, the General Committee considered the Soviet request. Speaking for the United States, Ambassador Lodge noted that this new item was a typical Soviet propaganda stunt. The real objective of the latest Soviet propaganda item, he said, was to distort President Eisenhower's message of January 5 concerning the Middle East, which the Soviet Union described as "designed to effect the direct interference of the U.S." Mr. Lodge pointed out that the President's policy "can only be carried out with the consent of the affected countries," is "aimed at preserving the national sovereignty and the independence of small states and preventing outside interference in their affairs," is

"designed to strengthen their economies and their military defenses," and "aims to prevent the same thing happening to the sovereign countries in the Middle East that happened to Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Albania, not to mention North Korea, North Vietnam, and East Germany." Nevertheless, Ambassador Lodge announced the United States would not vote against inscription.

The General Committee rejected the new Soviet item by a vote of 8 (China, Denmark, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, France, Italy, Peru, Turkey) to 6 (Czechoslovakia, Egypt, India, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and the United States), with 1 abstention (Pakistan). Its recommendation was approved by the plenary on February 15, 1957, by a vote of 53 in favor to 13 against, with 12 abstentions.

The Special Political Committee considered the first Soviet complaint—U.S. intervention in Eastern Europe—from February 25 to 27, 1957. The Soviet representative accused the United States of organizing large-scale programs intended to overthrow certain governments in Eastern Europe. He detailed alleged U.S. activities to train and dispatch espionage agents and referred to numerous official and unofficial U.S. statements which, in his view, confirmed the Soviet charges. Finally, he submitted a draft resolution that would have had the Assembly condemn "the subversive activities of the United States against other states" and call upon the United States to cease these activities and its intervention in the domesic affairs of other states.

Senator William F. Knowland, U.S. representative, replied immediately to the Soviet charges. He noted that most of the Soviet charges are familiar to the United Nations. Many of them had been put forward in 1951 and decisively rejected by the Assembly, a fact the Soviet representative neglected to mention. "By reviving these charges the Soviet Union is merely trying to divert world attention from its own year-in and year-out program of using foreign Communist parties to subvert and to undermine the government of free countries all over the world," he said. The Soviet Union would also like to obscure the truth concerning Hungary and for that purpose produced its own myth of U.S. intervention in Eastern Europe. "Naturally," he continued, "we would like to see improved and different conditions in Eastern Europe. We shall never cease to hope that the now captive peoples will be permitted to enjoy those fundamental rights and freedoms recognized in the U.N. Charter. . . . If we can say or do something here that can help to reassure our Soviet colleagues that our motives and policies in no way menace Soviet security . . . this discussion will have served a useful purpose."

Senator Knowland then spoke of U.S. aims toward Eastern Europe and noted two chief Soviet distortions. The first, he said, "is the idea that the U.S. wants to impose its own political and economic ideas on Eastern Europe," which, he declared, is untrue. The second Moscow distortion, Senator Knowland continued, "is that we want to turn the Eastern European countries into military allies or even military bases from which to attack the Soviet Union." That charge, he said, was also false, as evidenced by official statements. He quoted the remarks of the Secretary of State at Dallas, Tex., as follows: "We do not look upon these nations as potential military allies. We can see them as friends and as part of a new and friendly and no longer divided Europe."

Senator Knowland identified as the true sources of tension in Eastern Europe "the complete and total suppression of every expression of independence which the Soviets, in their psychopathic concern for security, regard as a threat to their control of the area," and he cited specific aggressive policies and repressive actions of the Soviet Union for nearly 2 decades.

In concluding, Senator Knowland said, "We look for the time when the Soviet Government will see fit to restore to the peoples of Eastern Europe their national freedom; to open their borders . . .; and to concentrate on promoting the genuine safety and welfare and creative power of their own remarkable people, the people of Russia." He predicted, "Some day the Soviet Union must recognize that freedom in Eastern Europe is not incompatible with Soviet security."

During the debate 28 representatives spoke. Only the Soviet bloc endorsed the Soviet theme. All other participants who spoke on the item called for rejection of the Soviet complaint as ill-fitting, distorted, unfounded, or sheer propaganda.

On February 27 the committee, by a rollcall vote, rejected the Soviet proposal by a vote of 53 to 8 (Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine, U.S.S.R.), with 11 abstentions (Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia). Those absent were Austria, Hungary, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, and the Union of South Africa.

The next day the Special Political Committee reported to the plenary that the committee had no recommendation to submit on the Soviet item. After the Soviet representative reiterated his charges against the United States, Ambassador Lodge noted the complete reversal in the attitude towards the Soviet Union of many members in the last several months. He also reviewed briefly the history and nature of the Soviet Communist Party which "by force and by fraud" seized power, embarked on a long-term program to bring the entire

world under its domination, and "succeeded in taking over, in whole or in part ten small European countries, annexing some outright, and imposing puppet rulers on others." Mr. Lodge pointed out that it was natural for Americans to be interested in Eastern Europe and concerned about the fate of its people. "We desire to see them free and independent," he said, and "we mean independent of Soviet control, independent of American control, independent of any type of control." On this point he repeated the words of President Eisenhower on the occasion of his second inauguration:

> We honor the aspirations of those nations which, now captive, long for freedom. We seek neither their military alliance nor any artificial imitation of our society, and they can know the warmth of the welcome that awaits them, when, as must be, they join again the ranks of freedom.

With this brief discussion the General Assembly concluded its consideration of the Soviet item.

North Africa

Morocco and Tunisia attained independence in March 1956 and, upon the recommendation of the Security Council in July 1956, were admitted to the United Nations by the General Assembly on November 12, 1956.

At its 10th session the Assembly had decided to postpone further consideration of the Moroccan item which had been on its agenda since 1952, noted that negotiations between France and Morocco would be initiated, and expressed confidence that a satisfactory solution would be achieved. The Moroccan negotiations with France resulting in French recognition of Moroccan independence were concluded on March 2, 1956, thus ending the French Protectorate over Morocco acquired by the Treaty of Fez in 1912. Spain in turn recognized Moroccan independence on April 7, 1956, thereby bringing to an end the Spanish Zone of Protectorate established in 1912. The international administration of the Zone of Tangier, established by the Tangier Statute of 1923, was abolished by the Declaration and Protocol of the Conference on the Status of Tangier signed on October 29, 1956, by Morocco and the eight administering powers (Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States).

Previously, at its ninth session, the Assembly had decided to postpone further consideration of the Tunisian question noting that negotiations with the Tunisians were in progress and expressing confidence that a satisfactory solution would be achieved. In view of the progress made in Franco-Tunisian negotiations in 1955, marked by

the conclusion of the Franco-Tunisian Conventions on June 3, 1955, the question of Tunisia, which like Morocco had been on the Assembly's agenda since 1952, was not proposed for consideration at the 10th session. The Tunisian negotiations with France resulting in French recognition of Tunisian independence were concluded on March 20, 1956, thus ending the French Protectorate over Tunisia established by the Bardo and La Marsa Treaties of 1881 and 1883.

ALGERIA

Under French law Algeria is an integral part of France, and French authority has been exercised in Algeria on this basis for over 100 years. When France began to occupy the area in 1830, the area was nominally under the suzerainty of Turkey. However, there was no authority in Algeria comparable to the Beylical system in Tunisia or the Sherifate in Morocco. Consequently, the establishment of French authority in Algeria was not based on a treaty relationship as in the case of the former protectorates of Morocco and Tunisia but upon occupation, colonization, and the application of a policy of assimilation. The Algerian departments of France were created in 1848 (they are now included within the North Atlantic Treaty area) and the area placed under civilian administration in 1870. Although administered as an integral part of the metropole, Algerian representation in the French Parliament—where power to legislate with respect to Algeria resides—has been determined to date by French laws designed to maintain (1) parity between the settlers of European origin (numbering approximately 1.2 million) and the native Algerian population (about 8 million), and (2) the primary ascendency of the French continental departments. In the postwar period preceding the outbreak of the nationalist rebellion in November 1954, Algeria elected 30 deputies to the French National Assembly and 14 Senators to the Council of Republic under a double electoral college system that assured the settlers of European origin of one-half of the seats. It is this system which Prime Minister Mollet said his government was prepared to abolish.

Although the French Government had increased its regular military force in Algeria to about 400,000 men since the outburst of nationalist disorders in order to curb terrorist activity and to police the area, the Mollet government took the position that the Algerian problem can only be resolved by political rather than military means. To this end the Mollet government offered on several occasions in the course of 1956 to conclude an unconditional cease-fire, to hold general elections on a single college basis 90 days after a cease-fire and

the restoration of calm, and to work out a new status for Algeria with the elected Algerian representatives. While France insists upon the maintenance of indissoluble ties, the Algerian nationalists have thus far taken the position that they are not prepared to conclude a cease-fire until France recognizes Algeria's right to independence.

Since the outbreak of nationalist disorders in Algeria, Asian and African members of the United Nations have endeavored to obtain both General Assembly and Security Council consideration of the Algerian problem. France has opposed U.N. consideration of the Algerian problem on the ground that it is a matter essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of France within the meaning of article 2 (7) of the Charter.

The General Assembly was first asked to consider the Algerian problem in 1955, when 15 Asian and African states requested that it be placed on the agenda of the 10th session. The item was inscribed after the Assembly in plenary session rejected by a one-vote margin the General Committee's recommendation against inscription. However, following the withdrawal of the French delegation, the Assembly adopted without objection a motion not to consider the item further.

Security Council Consideration

On June 13, 1956, 13 Asian and African members asked for Security Council consideration of the grave situation in Algeria on the ground that the Algerian situation had deteriorated to the extent that the United Nations could not remain indifferent to the threat to peace and security and to the infringement of the right of self-determination and other fundamental human rights. On June 26 the Security Council rejected the request. Australia, Belgium, Cuba, France, Peru, the United Kingdom, and the United States voted against inscription; Iran and the U.S.S.R. voted for; and China and Yugoslavia abstained. France argued that the Security Council was precluded from consideration of Algeria because of article 2 (7) of the Charter, saying that France remained firmly opposed to any discussion of its domestic affairs by third parties, including the General Assembly or Security Council. The United States opposed Security Council consideration of the Algerian situation on the ground that it would not contribute to a solution.

Charging external interference in Algeria, the French on October 25, 1956, requested the Security Council to consider "Military assistance rendered by the Egyptian government to the rebels in Algeria." The French alleged that the vessel *Athos* seized in French territorial waters on October 16 was carrying a large cargo of arms and ammuni-

tion which had been loaded in Alexandria and was intended for delivery to Algerian insurgents. Following a brief statement by the French representative on October 29 in which he charged Egypt with having interfered in French internal affairs, the Security Council decided without objection to include the item on its agenda, to invite Egypt to participate in its discussion of the question, and that it would be left for the incoming president of the Council to fix the date for the next meeting on the subject. While the item remains on the Security Council agenda, no further meeting was called on this subject.

General Assembly Consideration

Stressing that Asian and African states had accepted postponement of further discussion of the Algerian question at the 10th session of the Assembly in the hope that France would seize the opportunity to negotiate a settlement, 15 Asian and African states on October 1, 1956, requested the inclusion of the "Question of Algeria" on the agenda of the 11th General Assembly, charging that the situation had worsened in the past year and that the continuation of French acts of repression and genocide in Algeria would endanger international peace.

France did not oppose inscription of the Algerian item at the 11th session as at the 10th. The French delegate in the course of General Committee consideration of Algeria on November 14 stated that while France had no intention of starting a procedural debate, the question of Algeria was outside the competence of the United Nations; and he reserved France's right to raise the problem of foreign interference in the domestic jurisdiction of states.

Political Committee discussion of the Algerian item began February 4, 1957, with French Foreign Minister Pineau presenting the French case on Algeria. He stated that Algeria was an integral part of France and that the Assembly lacked competence under article 2 (7) of the Charter to consider the question; France could not, therefore, accept a recommendation voted by the Political Committee or the General Assembly. He said, however, that France had not opposed inscription in order to reply to criticisms of French policies in Algeria and to stress foreign interference in Algeria. He stated that the real cause of the crisis was traceable to the action of terrorist groups supported by the Algerian Communist Party as well as by foreign powers. In reiterating France's offer of an unconditional cease-fire, M. Pineau stated, "We merely want the fighting to cease in order to arrive at a negotiated political solution by democratic

means." He renewed France's offer of free elections by universal suffrage as soon as possible after a cease-fire, which would be observed by representatives of nations invited by France. He stated that the candidates elected would have a dual character; they would represent Algeria in the French National Assembly and they would be the spokesmen with whom the French Government would discuss Algeria's future regime.

On February 5, 1957, a draft resolution was introduced by 18 Asian and African powers. The three operative paragraphs requested France to respond to the desire of the people of Algeria to exercise their fundamental right of self-determination, invited France and the people of Algeria to enter into immediate negotiations, and requested the Secretary-General to assist the parties in conducting such negotiations and to report to the 12th General Assembly.

The U.S. representative, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, speaking in the Political Committee on February 6, welcomed France's decision to discuss with members of the Assembly its intentions and plans with respect to Algeria, saying that "it seems to us that the French program for a cease-fire, for elections and for consultations with the elected representatives marks a significant and hopeful forward step. It holds out to the world the prospect of a peaceful evolution which should be helpful to all." He stated that the United States was opposed to any action that seemed unlikely to make a contribution to a solution of the Algerian problem, and for that reason was opposed to the 18-power resolution. He said that the United States was also opposed to proposals that the United States believed constituted intervention in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of France. In reference to French charges with respect to foreign intervention in Algeria, Ambassador Lodge stated "there must be no external interference in Algerian affairs from any quarter. Such actions are bound to lead to an increase in tension and violence there."

A second draft resolution was introduced on February 11 by Japan, the Philippines, and Thailand which expressed the hope that France and the Algerian people would endeavor, through appropriate negotiations, to bring about the end of bloodshed and the peaceful settlement of the present difficulties. On February 12 a third draft resolution was introduced, sponsored jointly by Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Italy, and Peru which expressed the hope that a peaceful and democratic solution of this question would be found. Ambassador Lodge, in announcing U.S. support of the latter six-power resolution, warned the committee on February 12 that any attempt to go beyond this resolution would only make more difficult

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the achievement of a just and peaceful settlement in Algeria. For this reason he stated that the United States was opposed to the three-power resolution introduced by Japan, the Philippines, and Thailand as well as to the 18-power Asian-African resolution. Ambassador Lodge expressed the belief that France should be given the opportunity to work out the future status of Algeria with the duly elected Algerian representatives.

In individual paragraph voting, the Political Committee on February 13 rejected by one-vote margins (34–33–10 and 34–33–9) the first two operative paragraphs of the 18-power resolution. As a consequence, no vote was taken on the resolution as a whole. In the rollcall vote on the first operative paragraph, the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand opposed, together with 14 Latin Americans, 12 Western Europeans, China, Laos, and Israel. Twenty-two Asian-African states including Turkey voted in favor, together with the Soviet bloc, Yugoslavia, Ecuador, and Greece. Bolivia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and Paraguay abstained, as did Spain, Cambodia, Liberia, the Philippines, and Thailand. A similar voting pattern prevailed on the second operative paragraph.

Thereafter, the committee voted on both the six-power resolution (41–33–3) and the three-power resolution (37–27–13), neither, however, receiving a two-thirds majority. The six-power resolution, which was supported by the United States, was opposed by the Soviet bloc, Yugoslavia, Greece, and 23 Asian-African states, with Bolivia, Cambodia, and Turkey abstaining. The three-power resolution was opposed by the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Portugal, Laos, and Israel, with Austria, China, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Mexico, Norway, Peru, Spain, and Sweden abstaining.

The General Assembly considered the Political Committee's report February 15 and adopted by a unanimous vote (77–0; South Africa and Hungary absent) a moderate compromise resolution cosponsored by the nine powers sponsoring the three- and six-power resolutions, respectively. The French did not participate in the vote in keeping with their position on competence. The operative paragraph of the resolution expressed the hope that a peaceful, democratic, and just solution would be found, through appropriate means, in conformity with the principles of the Charter. Ambassador Wadsworth of the U.S. delegation, in expressing appreciation to all whose spirit of cooperation had made possible the conclusion of the discussion on a positive note, expressed the confidence of the United States in France's ability to work out a peaceful, democratic, and just solution in Algeria.

South Africa

Two items involving the Union of South Africa were submitted for inclusion on the agenda of the 11th Assembly session. Both involved the alleged discriminatory racial policies of the Union of South Africa. The first, treatment of persons of Indian origin in the Union of South Africa, has been considered by all but one Assembly session since 1946. The other, race conflict in South Africa resulting from the policy of *apartheid*, first submitted to the Assembly in 1952 by 13 Arab and Asian states, has been discussed by every Assembly since.

The 10th Assembly's resolution on the treatment of persons of Indian origin had invited the parties (Union of South Africa, India, Pakistan) to report as appropriate, jointly or separately, to the General Assembly at its next session. In a letter of September 5, 1956, India requested inclusion of the item, explaining that its efforts to renew negotiations with the Union Government had met with failure. The Union Government maintained that, since the subject was one strictly of domestic concern, it could not agree that negotiations should be conducted, as provided for in the General Assembly's resolution, with due regard to the purposes and principles of the Charter and pertinent resolutions of the United Nations. On September 11 Pakistan joined in the Indian request.

On September 12 India, subsequently joined by Pakistan and Indonesia, requested inclusion of the question of race conflict resulting from the Union's policies of *apartheid*, which it characterized as a "seriously disturbing factor in international relations." It therefore urged renewed consideration of this question to enable "Members to express themselves on this issue and thereby persuade the Union of South Africa to alter its policy in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations."

The Union of South Africa again opposed inclusion of both items on the ground that they involved essentially domestic matters outside the jurisdiction of the United Nations by reason of the provisions of article 2 (7) of the Charter. Nevertheless, the General Committee recommended their inclusion. South Africa restated its objections in the plenary on November 15. Separate rollcalls resulted in inclusion of the item on the treatment of Indians, 63–2–13, and of the *apartheid* item, 61–8–7, the United States voting affirmatively in both cases.

LIMITED PARTICIPATION OF SOUTH AFRICA IN THE UNITED NATIONS

On November 27, speaking in the Assembly's general debate, the South African representative, Eric Louw, announced that, in view of

the fact that the Assembly repeatedly had been a party to "a violation" of article 2 (7) of the Charter resulting in interference in South Africa's domestic affairs to an extent that was detrimentally affecting the maintenance of harmonious racial relations and negating an important Charter principle, his Government had decided in the future, "while as yet continuing to be a Member," to maintain only token representation in the Organization, attending the meetings of Committee V "when necessary in order to watch out for South Africa's interests." The South African withdrawal was stated to be "until such time as the United Nations shows that it is prepared to act in accordance with the spirit of the San Francisco Conference of 1945 and to conform to the principles laid down by the founders of the Organization in article 2, paragraphs 1 and 7 of the Charter." (It will be recalled that South Africa withdrew from the 10th Assembly session following adoption in committee of a resolution later defeated in the plenary, continuing the Special Committee on race conflict.)

TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

The Special Political Committee considered this item at four meetings from January 7 to 12, 1957. Most of those participating in the discussion urged the desirability of renewed negotiations, if progress were to be made. The U.S. representative, Ambassador Philip Bonsal, stated that his Government continued to believe that only the parties concerned could settle the dispute and expressed the hope that the moral authority of the United Nations would persuade them to enter into negotiations.

Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, Mexico, the Philippines, and Yugoslavia cosponsored a resolution noting that both India and Pakistan had reiterated readiness to negotiate with South Africa; noting with regret that the Union Government had not yet agreed to negotiations; urging the parties to enter into negotiations to facilitate a settlement and, in particular, appealing for South African cooperation; recalling the Assembly's resolution providing a unified program of advisory services in the field of human rights and inviting the parties to report, as appropriate, jointly or separately, to the General Assembly.

The six-power resolution was adopted by the committee on January 12 by a vote of 49–0–11, the United States voting affirmatively. It was adopted without further discussion in the plenary on January 30 by a vote of 42–0–12.

RACE CONFLICT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Immediately following completion of its consideration of the foregoing item, the Special Political Committee took up the broad question of *apartheid.* A number of members spoke critically of South Africa's negative attitude and its policy of social discrimination under *apartheid*, a policy which they characterized as incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The U.S. representative, Ambassador Philip Bonsal, made clear that the United States disapproved of all forms of racial discrimination. He also said that, in light of its own experience demonstrating the delicacy and difficulty of solving race problems, the United States believed that the best way for the United Nations to deal with them was to examine the various aspects of human rights in their broad application, as had been done with forced labor, and not to focus on a particular country. He pointed out that United Nations actions in this case had only produced irritation and had led to the regrettable withdrawal of the Union Government.

A draft resolution cosponsored by Ceylon, Greece, Haiti, Iran, and Iraq recalled past Assembly resolutions, expressed "deep regret" that the Union Government had not observed its Charter obligations under article 56 and had on the contrary further developed its *apartheid* policy and pressed forward with discriminatory measures, affirmed its conviction that these actions were inconsistent with the Charter and the forces of progress and international cooperation, and called upon the Union Government urgently to reconsider its position and revise its policies to conform to Charter obligations and responsibilities and to the progress achieved in other contemporary multiracial societies. A second resolution was submitted by the Philippine delegation according to which the Assembly would request the Secretary-General to meet with South Africa's representative "to invite the return . . . of the South African Delegation and to conduct exploratory conversations to study the means and ways by which some useful solution may be reached to solve this problem." In informal private negotiations a consolidated text based on both proposals was worked out. In particular, provisions were added to the five-power draft inviting South Africa to cooperate in a constructive approach, more particularly by its presence in the United Nations, and requesting the Secretary-General "as appropriate to communicate with the Government of the Union of South Africa to carry forward the purposes of this resolution."

When the new text was voted upon on January 23, it was adopted by a vote of 55 to 5, with 10 abstentions, including the United States. Ambassador Bonsal explained that the United States shared the

earnest desire of all delegations to promote human rights and to insure respect for them not only in South Africa but throughout the world. However, experience had shown that similar Assembly action in the past had not led to any improvement in the situation in South Africa, and consequently the United States had been compelled to abstain.

The General Assembly took up the committee's report on January 30, and the recommended resolution was adopted by a vote of 56 to 5, with 12 abstentions, including the United States.

Korea

STATUS OF THE ARMISTICE

The armistice in Korea continued in effect, although minor incidents in the demilitarized zone and aircraft overflights were the subjects of complaints in the Military Armistice Commission (MAC). Despite some reductions in the forces contributed by other countries, the international character of the United Nations Command (UNC), under Gen. Lyman L. Lemnitzer as Commander in Chief, was maintained. Military forces of the Republic of Korea continued to occupy most of the positions along the demarcation line.

The chief development involved the correction of a longstanding source of difficulty in the operation of the Armistice Agreement. The difficulty arose out of the arrangements for supervision of its replacement and reinforcement provisions by the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission (NNSC), whose members are Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. From the earliest days of the armistice the Communist side deliberately evaded those provisions requiring them to report the introduction of aircraft and other reinforcing material and obstructed the efforts of the NNSC to carry out its prescribed control functions in this regard. The United Nations Command, on the other hand, extended full cooperation to the NNSC and its neutral inspection teams operating in the south. The result was an obviously inequitable situation since the NNSC operated freely in the territory under UNC control, while its Polish and Czech members blocked all efforts for it to perform similar functions in the north. The United Nations Command had previously made clear its view that this situation required either dissolution of the NNSC or its withdrawal to the demilitarized zone where its activities would be confined to receiving reports from both sides.

On May 31, 1956, following consultations in Washington among the nations contributing military forces, the UNC informed the Communist Command in Korea, the NNSC, and the Commission's

inspection teams in Inchon, Pusan, and Kunsan that, because of Communist violations and obstruction of the work of the NNSC, it would provisionally suspend, during the time the Communist side continued in default, performance on its part of those provisions of the Armistice Agreement governing the operations of the NNSC in the area under its control.

The question of the proper and nondiscriminatory operation of the NNSC had been under consideration for some time prior to the May 31 UNC announcement. In 1955, on Swiss and Swedish initiative, the number of mobile inspection teams was reduced from ten to six, and the number of ports of entry from five to three, on both sides. At that time the UNC stated that it regarded this action as simply a temporary solution. Through diplomatic channels, consultations were carried on among the other participants in the United Nations Command with respect to the continued operation of the NNSC.

Both Switzerland and Sweden stated repeatedly that they thought it desirable to consider the dissolution of the Commission since it was apparent the Commission could not fulfill its functions in the north. On March 10, 1956, Sweden proposed, as a provisional arrangement, the temporary withdrawal of the inspection teams stationed in the designated ports of entry, retaining the right of the NNSC to dispatch them as appropriate. The UNC could not accept this proposal since there was no reason to believe that the past record of frustration of the mobile inspection teams by their Czech and Polish members would suddenly be reversed.

On April 9, 1956, the Chinese Communists transmitted a note through the British diplomatic mission in Peiping to the governments that had contributed military forces to the United Nations Command stating that the NNSC problem could not be solved until the problem of Korean unification and withdrawal of foreign forces had been solved. Without advancing concrete proposals, the Chinese Communists proposed the convening of a conference on these two subjects. Its clear motivation was to block negotiations for solution of the NNSC problem.

On May 28, 1956, the governments participating in the United Nations Command replied to the Chinese Communist note. The reply made clear that "until the Chinese–North Korean side is prepared to negotiate sincerely on the basis of United Nations objectives, the governments of the United Nations Command believe that another conference would only bring about a repetition of the deadlock which resulted at Geneva in 1954." It carefully distinguished the NNSC problem from that of a Korean political settlement and announced the Command's intention to take further action in the Military Armistice Commission to relieve the inequity imposed on the UNC by

the Communist frustration of effective NNSC supervision in the north.

With the delivery of this note, the way was open for the May 31 UNC announcement of its suspension of NNSC activities in the south. Following this announcement the Communist Command requested a Military Armistice Commission meeting, held June 4. At that meeting the Communist representative charged the UNC with violating the armistice and demanded that the May 31 announcement be withdrawn. After recalling the continuous UNC efforts to obtain Communist cooperation in carrying out the provisions of the Armistice Agreement and to induce the Communists to demonstrate concretely their intention to live up to the Armistice Agreement, the UNC representative pointed out that the action on the NNSC "was carefully adjusted to the violations and frustrations and to the burdens and injuries involved and represented the very least that the UNC must do to protect its legitimate rights under the terms of the Armistice Agreement by lawful, peaceful and reasonable steps." Still insisting the May 31 announcement be withdrawn, the Communist representative suddenly announced his side's acceptance of the Swedish March 10 proposal. The UNC representative replied that his side could not accept this arrangement since there was no reason to believe that the Communists would permit the mobile teams to operate effectively.

On June 5 the NNSC sent a letter to the Military Armistice Commission, responding both to the May 31 UNC announcement and to the Communist acceptance, transmitted in a letter to the NNSC the preceding day, of the Swedish proposal. In its letter the Commission communicated its unanimous decision "to recommend to the Military Armistice Commission to agree to the provisional withdrawal of the neutral nations inspection sub-teams stationed in the territory under military control of the two sides." Such withdrawal was to be provisional and would not change the legal status of the NNSC unless or until a mutual agreement was reached by both sides.

On June 7 the Military Armistice Commission met again. The Communist representative argued that the two sides should now inform the NNSC that there should be no change in its functions and authority and that its withdrawal from the north and south was temporary, with the right to dispatch mobile teams to the designated ports of entry at the request of either side. For its part the UNC was prepared to have the Military Armistice Commission authorize the NNSC withdrawal. However, since the Communist side objected, the UNC representative confirmed the intention of the Command to proceed on the basis of the May 31 announcement, reiterating that the provisional suspension of the pertinent provisions of

the armistice would remain in effect while the Communist side continued in default of the reinforcement, reporting, and inspection provisions of the agreement; the UNC would, however, continue to report honestly and fully to the NNSC in the demilitarized zone.

On June 8 the UNC confirmed this arrangement in a letter to the NNSC requesting that the withdrawal of the teams from the area under UNC control take place June 9, 1956. At a meeting of the NNSC the same day, the Commission decided to withdraw its teams from the six ports of entry and authorize their return to Panmunjom. The teams in the south were flown to the demilitarized zone June 9, and those in the north returned June 10 and 11.

In a special UNC report on these developments to the United Nations on August 15, the UNC emphasized that the Command "was acting as one party to a contract with certain provisions of which the other party has failed to comply," and that it continued to regard the Armistice Agreement as in force with the exception of the suspension of the provisions relating to the NNSC.

UNCURK

The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK), whose members are Australia, Chile, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey, continued to observe the political and economic scene in the Republic of Korea and transmitted its annual report describing its work to the 11th session of the General Assembly. Its activities were carried on by a subcommittee composed of representatives of Australia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Turkey, but the full Commission convened to approve the Commission's annual report. The report described current developments respecting the armistice, the further evolution of representative government in the Republic of Korea, the economic situation, and the progress of reconstruction. Despite the failure to achieve unification, the Commission concluded that the Republic of Korea during the year had succeeded "in further consolidating its position as a national state, in expanding its diplomatic representation, and in taking an increasingly active part in international organizations and conferences."

ASSEMBLY ACTION

Two aspects of the Korean question were presented for consideration at the 11th session of the General Assembly. The first involved the longstanding United Nations objective in Korea ("the achieve-

ment by peaceful means of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government, and full restoration of peace and security in the area"). The 10th session had requested the Secretary-General to place the overall problem of Korea, which includes the annual UNCURK report, on the 11th session's agenda. The second aspect of the Korean question before the Assembly was the disposition of the nonrepatriated ex-prisoners of war who were taken to India after the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission (NNRC) completed its operations in Korea in January 1954. The 10th Assembly had requested India to report to the 11th session on the progress made toward their final resettlement in neutral countries.

India's report, submitted October 12, 1956, stated that of the 88 ex-prisoners originally taken to India, 5 had gone to northern Korea and 2 to Communist China. During February 1956, 55 had left for Brazil. Of the remaining 26, 11 opted for Argentina, 9 for Mexico, and the rest for India. With the assistance of the Secretary-General, completion of the formalities for the departure of the 11 who chose to go to Argentina was under way, as were arrangements for the 9 desiring to go to Mexico. Out of the 6 electing to remain in India, one now desired to go to northern Korea, and his repatriation was under negotiation.

The General Assembly began consideration of the Korean item January 3, 1957. At the outset of the debate the U.S. representative, Edward Greenbaum, introduced a draft resolution providing for the customary invitation to a representative of the Republic of Korea to participate without the right to vote. The Indian representative submitted an amendment that would also invite a North Korean to participate on the same basis but announced his belief that the committee could satisfactorily discuss the Korean item without the presence of either party; if one was to be invited, however, both should be. The Indian amendment was rejected by a vote of 40 to 20, with 11 abstentions, after which the U.S. proposal was adopted by a vote of 51 to 10, with 12 abstentions. The U.S. representative opposed the Indian amendment since the North Korean regime had been found to have committed aggression, had never accepted the competence of the United Nations on Korea, and hearing it would serve no useful purpose. Thereafter the representative of the Republic of Korea took his seat at the committee table.

Opening the general debate the U.S. representative, Mr. Greenbaum, noted the longstanding interest of the United Nations in the Korean problem. He pointed out that the rigidly inflexible Communist attitude alone was responsible for the failure of U.N. efforts to bring about Korean unification, recalling in particular the intran-

sigent Communist attitude at the Geneva Conference in rejecting the two principles that the United Nations regarded as essential to a settlement. These two principles—the authority of the United Nations to act in the matter and the necessity for genuinely free elections in Korea under U.N. supervision—had been endorsed overwhelmingly by the General Assembly in 1954 and 1955. Mr. Greenbaum praised the developing pattern of representative government in the Republic of Korea based on free elections held under UNCURK observation. In contrast, no free elections had taken place in North Korea; if the Communists wished now to demonstrate good faith, Mr. Greenbaum suggested, they could agree to U.N. observation of elections already announced. After denouncing the flagrant Communist violations of the reporting and reinforcement provisions of the Armistice Agreement leading to UNC action to suspend those provisions relating to the NNSC's operations, Mr. Greenbaum also noted the continuing Communist failure to account for UNC prisoners of war and the continued Communist detention of Korean and foreign civilians. Turning to the ex-prisoners, Mr. Greenbaum expressed appreciation to the Government of India and the Secretary-General for their efforts in arranging the resettlement of the ex-prisoners and to Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina for their generous offers to accept certain of the prisoners.

Concluding his remarks, he referred to the draft resolution submitted by the United States, the purpose of which was to reaffirm unequivocally the continuing objectives of the United Nations in Korea. Under the draft resolution the General Assembly would reaffirm the U.N. objectives "to bring about by peaceful means the establishment of a unified, independent and democratic Korea under a representative form of government and the full restoration of peace and security in the area," would urge continuing efforts toward these objectives in accordance with the two fundamental principles set forth by the United Nations side at Geneva, would call upon UNCURK to continue its work and to observe and report on elections throughout Korea, and would request the Secretary-General to place the Korean item on the provisional agenda of the 12th session.

The representative of El Salvador submitted, on behalf of his delegation, Ecuador, and Venezuela, a draft resolution according to which the General Assembly would express its gratitude to the Governments of India, Argentina, and Brazil for their valuable cooperation in the settlement of the problem of the ex-prisoners. At the suggestion of the Ceylonese representative, the three cosponsors later added a provision whereby the Assembly would express its hope that those prisoners still in India would be resettled in the near future through the cooperation of member states.

The Indian representative did not regard the U.S. draft resolution as likely to achieve a settlement. In particular he considered undesirable the limitation of the principle of free and general elections in Korea to the particular method embodied in the final declaration of the Geneva Conference—U.N. supervision. Moreover, the resolution went beyond previous resolutions in naming UNCURK as the authority to supervise elections throughout Korea, though no such elections were provided for. The door should remain open on both points. In India's judgment, if the United Nations were to accomplish unification, there must be negotiations between the two sides leading to countrywide elections for a constituent assembly under some form of international supervision acceptable to the United Nations. Meantime informal contacts between the Communist regime in North Korea and the Republic of Korea should be encouraged.

On January 8 the committee voted on the resolutions before it. The U.S. resolution was adopted on a rollcall vote of 57 to 8 (Soviet bloc), with 13 abstentions (Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Yemen, and Yugoslavia). The three-power resolution dealing with the ex-prisoners was adopted by a vote of 69 to 0, with 9 abstentions.

The committee's report was considered on January 11 in the plenary. Both the Soviet and Czech representatives repeated their attack on the United States for alleged violation of the Armistice Agreement in connection with the termination of NNSC activities. The U.S. representative reaffirmed that his Government stood ready to join with all parties interested in the Korean problem to work out a just settlement whenever the Communist side demonstrated concretely its willingness to negotiate in good faith, to recognize the competence of the United Nations, and to agree to Korean unification on a basis consistent with U.N. principles. The resolution dealing with Korean unification was adopted by a vote of 57 to 8, with 9 abstentions, while the second draft resolution covering the ex-prisoners received 60 affirmative votes, no negative votes, and 10 abstentions.

West New Guinea (West Irian)

BACKGROUND

Before World War II the western half of the large island of New Guinea was governed as a part of the Netherlands East Indies. When Indonesia obtained independence, the question of the political status of West New Guinea remained in dispute. The Charter of

the Transfer of Sovereignty, signed December 27, 1949, at The Hague, declared in its first article: "The Kingdom of the Netherlands unconditionally and irrevocably transfers complete sovereignty over Indonesia to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia." The second article stated: "It has not yet been possible to reconcile the problem of New Guinea, which remains therefore in dispute—and the *status quo* of the residency of New Guinea shall be maintained with the stipulation that within a year of the transfer of sovereignty to the Republic of the United States of Indonesia, the question of the political status of New Guinea be determined through negotiations between the Republic of the United States of Indonesia and the Kingdom of the Netherlands." After 7 years the status of the Netherlands New Guinea or West Irian is still disputed. All efforts to settle this territorial dispute by negotiations have terminated inconclusively.

The failure of bilateral negotiations led to the inscription in 1954 of "The Question of West Irian (West New Guinea)" on the agenda of the ninth General Assembly. The resultant debate was prolonged and covered the procedural, legal, and political aspects of the problem, but a draft resolution failed of adoption. The question was again inscribed at the 10th session of the General Assembly in 1955, but before its consideration in committee the Dutch and Indonesians, in a joint statement issued on December 7, 1955, agreed to negotiations on several outstanding matters. As a consequence, the General Assembly adopted a resolution without objection, expressing the hope that the negotiations would be fruitful.

Before the ninth General Assembly the United States made clear that it would be neutral on this question, and at the ninth and tenth sessions of the General Assembly took no part in the debates and abstained on all motions.

In October 1956, 16 Asian and African members requested that "The Question of West Irian (West New Guinea)" be considered by the General Assembly at its 11th session. On the advice of the General Committee (6–3–5), the General Assembly on November 15, 1956, decided to include the question on its agenda and referred it to the Political Committee.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The Political Committee considered the West New Guinea item from February 23 to 28, 1957. The representative of Indonesia said his Government considered the question "in essence a colonial problem," that when the Netherlands had transferred sovereignty over

the former Dutch East Indies to Indonesia, the transfer had included West New Guinea. The Netherlands representative, on the other hand, said that the parties to the Round Table Conference which led to the transfer of sovereignty had agreed that West New Guinea would remain under Netherlands sovereignty pending settlement of the area's "political status," and that the Netherlands had agreed to this arrangement as it "placed beyond doubt" that the Netherlands remained sovereign over Western New Guinea.

On February 23, 1957, a joint draft resolution sponsored by Bolivia, Burma, Ceylon, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Ethiopia, India, Iraq, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, and Yugoslavia was introduced into the Political Committee. By this draft resolution the General Assembly, having considered "The Question of West Irian (West New Guinea)," recalling its resolution of December 16, 1955, and noting that negotiations between the Governments of Indonesia and the Netherlands had so far not resolved this issue, would (1) request the President of the General Assembly to appoint a Good Offices Commission consisting of three members, with a view to assisting in negotiations in order that a just and peaceful solution of the question might be achieved, in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter; and (2) request the Good Offices Commission to report to the General Assembly at its next regular session. The joint draft resolution was adopted in committee by a roll-call vote of 39 to 25, with 9 abstentions (including the U.S.).

In reporting to the General Assembly, the rapporteur of the Political Committee stated that a majority of the delegations held the view that the United Nations should lend its good offices to assist in negotiations between Indonesia and the Netherlands in order that a just and peaceful solution of the question might be achieved in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter. Other representatives, he said, were of the opinion that such negotiations would not lead to any positive results because for many years the two parties concerned had been defending diametrically opposed points of view. Before putting the reported draft resolution to a vote, the President noted the precedent of a two-thirds majority vote having been required on a reported draft resolution on the same question at the ninth session. Without objection the same rule was applied. The vote was 40 in favor, 25 against, and 13 abstentions (including the U.S.), resulting in rejection of the recommended resolution through failure to obtain the required two-thirds majority. The United States throughout maintained its policy of neutrality with respect to the dispute, not participating in the debate and abstaining on all votes.

Argentine Proposal

The Argentine proposal at the 11th General Assembly for the establishment of a worldwide system of consultation is an example of the interest that was shown during 1956 in the processes of peaceful settlement. Argentina, on October 9, 1956, requested the inclusion on the agenda for the Assembly's 11th session of the following item: "Draft Convention Concerning a System of Consultation." At the same time Argentina submitted a draft convention providing for consultation among the parties to the convention on the initiative of any one of them if a situation likely to endanger international peace and security arises. As a possible second step, the draft convention provided further for the calling of a meeting of consultation among the parties by any one of them at U.N. headquarters or elsewhere "simply to provide an opportunity for full and friendly discussion of the implications of the international situation." These procedures, however, would not be invoked, or would be suspended, if the situation in question were under consideration by the Security Council, the General Assembly, or a regional agency. The convention would be open for signature by all members of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies and by parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

In explanation of its request, the Argentine Government maintained that "the community of nations lacks machinery to permit consultations to be held among them, or by all jointly, with the necessary speed and efficiency when a situation arises which is likely to endanger international peace and security." It referred to the effectiveness of the system of consultation developed among the American Republics over the years and embodied in the 1948 Charter of the Organization of American States. The Argentine Government then expressed the belief that "a similar procedure applied on a world-wide basis . . . would be an important factor in the maintenance of international peace." It also pointed out that the proposed system of consultation would "form part of the general United Nations system" and would thus "prevent the loss of prestige which the United Nations suffers when a situation of concern to world public opinion is discussed outside the Organization."

ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The Argentine item was included on the agenda without objection, and discussion of it began in the Special Political Committee on December 17, continuing for six meetings. The committee had before

it an Argentine draft resolution under which the Assembly would establish a special committee of 15 members to study the draft convention suggested by Argentina and to report to the Assembly's 12th session. Following discussion of this draft resolution, Argentina, on December 19, submitted a substitute proposal, which was cosponsored by Canada, Cuba, Denmark, Italy, Japan, Lebanon, Mexico, the Philippines, Spain, the United States, Uruguay, and Venezuela. This joint draft resolution was adopted by the committee on December 21, the vote being 45 to 8 (Soviet bloc), with 8 abstentions, and in plenary on January 11 by a vote of 58 to 8, with 4 abstentions.

In this resolution the Assembly states its belief that the Argentine proposal "should be considered in the context of existing United Nations procedures and mechanisms for peaceful settlement, and of the relevant Charter provisions," and recalls that it had at its 10th session decided "to hold a General Conference to review the Charter at an appropriate time." The Assembly therefore decides to refer the Argentine proposal, together with the records of its consideration at the Assembly's 11th session, to member states for consideration "during the review of peaceful settlement procedures and mechanisms at such a General Conference." The Assembly further recommends that member states transmit their views with respect to the Argentine proposal to the Secretary-General prior to the General Conference.

United States Position

Speaking in the committee on December 19, the U.S. representative, Frank C. Nash, declared that the United States shares Argentina's pride in the inter-American consultative procedures, which "have in our view been eminently successful and may well serve as a pattern for other areas of the world if they should so choose." He regretted that there has not developed among nations everywhere "that sense of common interest and that acceptance of common objectives" that has enabled consultations among the American Republics "to make a significant contribution toward . . . the maintenance of peace and security in the Western Hemisphere." Noting the numerous procedures and mechanisms developed by the United Nations to facilitate peaceful settlement, he raised the question "whether upon reflection it should not be concluded that it is not so much new mechanisms and new procedures that are needed to make the United Nations a more effective channel for peaceful settlement, as it is a change in the attitude of member states."

His delegation, Mr. Nash said, was "in complete agreement with the basic purpose which we believe animates the Argentine proposals . . . namely, that the United Nations be a center for har-

monizing the action of nations." We also share, he continued, the Argentine desire "to strengthen in every way the force of article 33 of the Charter," which provides that parties to a dispute shall first of all seek a solution through peaceful means of their own choice. "If further promising peaceful means are needed it is clearly our responsibility to devise and to provide them," he said. However, we had had some doubts whether the original proposal for the establishment of a special committee was the best way to handle the problem. The committee discussions, Mr. Nash commented, had been "in keeping with the spirit and intent of the Argentine initiative," and "further consideration by member governments of the various ideas advanced" should now be permitted.

The U.S. representative pointed out that the joint draft resolution before the committee clearly "calls for a careful review and study of the provisions of the Charter relating to peaceful settlement" and "for a review of our experience in this field since 1945." He then expressed the hope that the resolution would commend itself to the committee, "as serving in a timely and appropriate way to encourage the study and development of the role of the United Nations in the peaceful settlement of disputes."

GENERAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS

Admission of New Members

The 11th General Assembly on November 13 held a ceremony of welcome for 19 new members. These included the 16 applicants (Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Ceylon, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Ireland, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal, Portugal, Rumania, and Spain) admitted near the close of the 10th session of the Assembly in December 1955 and the three newly independent states—the Sudan, Morocco, and Tunisia—admitted by unanimous vote of the Assembly the previous day at the opening plenary of the 11th session. Earlier in the year, on February 6, July 20, and July 26, respectively, the Security Council had unanimously recommended these three states for admission.

In his address of welcome to the new members, Prince Wan of Thailand, President of the 11th General Assembly, noted that the 19 new members "represent different parts of the world and a variety of beliefs and systems of thoughts and ideas." He said that this variety, "far from being a source of weakness, gives unique

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strength to the basic foundations of our Organization and broadens the field in which all of us can, in the words of the preamble to the Charter, 'practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors.' " He termed "the existence of variety in outlook, economic conditions and cultural patterns among Member States" as "both a challenge and a means of solution."

Representatives of each of the new members, in many cases the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister, spoke briefly in reply.

ADMISSION OF JAPAN

Japan applied for admission to the United Nations in 1952 and was promptly found qualified for membership by the General Assembly. However, it was prevented from becoming a member by a Soviet veto in the Security Council. In December 1955 the U.S.S.R. vetoed the Japanese application three times in 2 days in an effort to tie in the admission of Japan with that of Outer Mongolia. When the 11th General Assembly convened on November 12, 1956, however, there were indications that the Soviet attitude had changed. The joint declaration signed by the U.S.S.R. and Japan on October 19 stated that "The U.S.S.R. will support Japan's request for admission to membership in the United Nations." In his address to the 11th General Assembly on November 16, the Acting Secretary of State, Herbert Hoover, Jr., said, "We hope that speedy action may now be taken to pave the way for Japan's entry at the earliest possible moment."

The Japanese observer at the United Nations on December 6, 1956, requested "renewed consideration" of the Japanese application by the Security Council. The next day the U.S.S.R. requested that Outer Mongolia's application be taken up by the Council when Japan's was.

The Security Council met on December 12, following ratification in Tokyo and Moscow of the Soviet-Japanese joint declaration, and adopted unanimously a Peruvian draft resolution recommending to the General Assembly the admission of Japan. It then rejected, by a vote of 4 (U.S.S.R., Iran, Peru, and Yugoslavia) to 2 (China and Cuba), with 5 abstentions (Australia, Belgium, France, U.K., and U.S.) a Soviet draft resolution making a similar recommendation with respect to Outer Mongolia.

Supporting the admission of Japan, the U.S. representative, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, declared that Japan's application deserved "unanimous endorsement." With respect to Outer Mongolia, he made clear that although the United States had abstained in keeping with the spirit of the 1948 Vandenberg Resolution calling for

voluntary agreement among the five permanent members of the Security Council not to use their veto on membership applications, the United States opposed the admission of Outer Mongolia as not qualified for U.N. membership.

The General Assembly on December 18 adopted unanimously a resolution cosponsored by 49 members, including the United States, which admitted Japan to membership in the United Nations. On this occasion the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, sent the following message to the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had come to the United States to address the General Assembly following Japan's admission:

> I am profoundly gratified to welcome Japan as a member of the United Nations. This marks a step for which the Japanese and American peoples have been waiting since the conclusion of the peace treaty of conciliation signed at San Francisco in 1951. I know that we can now look forward to the exertion of Japan's prestige and influence within the United Nations forum in the vigorous defense of freedom.

APPLICATIONS OF THE REPUBLICS OF KOREA AND OF VIET-NAM

With the admission of Japan there remained only two applicants that had been found qualified for membership by the General Assembly but that continued to be excluded by Soviet vetoes in the Security Council. These were the Republic of Korea and Viet-Nam, the first having been endorsed by the Assembly in 1949 at its fourth session and the second, in 1952, at the seventh session. In his address of November 16, Acting Secretary Hoover said, after referring to Japan, "The Republics of Korea and of Viet-Nam are also fully deserving of admission and should be brought in without further delay."

Two draft resolutions, cosponsored by Australia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, France, Iraq, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, and the United States were introduced in the Special Political Committee on January 23, 1957, when the committee began consideration of the agenda item "Admission of new Members to the United Nations." Under the first of these drafts, the Assembly would recall its previous finding on the Republic of Korea and note that the Republic of Korea had been excluded from membership because of the opposition of one of the permanent members of the Security Council. The Assembly would then reaffirm its determination that the Republic of Korea was "fully qualified" for membership and request the Security Council to reconsider its application in the light of this determination. The

second draft resolution concerned Viet-Nam and was in almost identical terms.

Speaking in support of the two joint draft resolutions, the U.S. representative, Edward S. Greenbaum, emphasized "the special and unique" relationship of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations. It had been established, he recalled, through democratic elections held under the auspices of a U.N. commission and pursuant to a 1947 General Assembly resolution. It had become, he said, "the symbol of the first great effort of the Free World to take collective action against aggression." He noted that, despite its exclusion from the United Nations by the negative vote of the U.S.S.R., the Republic of Korea had "played an active role in the community of nations," participates in the work of many of the U.N. specialized agencies, and has been formally recognized by more than 30 nations, whereas only the Communist bloc has recognized the North Korean regime. He also noted the strong desire of the Government of the Republic of Korea and of the Korean people themselves for U.N. membership, citing as concrete evidence of special interest the petitions recently delivered to the U.N. Secretary-General signed by more than 10 million Korean people.

With respect to the Republic of Viet-Nam, the U.S. representative stated:

> There is no doubt that Viet-Nam fulfills the conditions laid down in Article 4 of the Charter, as the Assembly has already determined. It has declared itself willing to accept the obligations arising out of the Charter and has demonstrated ability to do so by its efforts in the political, economic and administrative spheres. As exemplified in the successful holding of free elections in March 1956, Viet-Nam has proved the vitality of its democratic institutions."

Mr. Greenbaum cited Viet-Nam's membership in various of the specialized agencies as evidence of "its desire to make constructive contributions to the United Nations and the principles of the Charter," and its recognition as a sovereign and independent state by more than 47 nations as "eloquent testimony to its qualifications."

The United States, Mr. Greenbaum declared, considers both applicants "fully qualified" for U.N. membership and "urges that this General Assembly so recommend" in the proposed resolutions.

At the next meeting of the committee, on January 24, the U.S.S.R. introduced a draft resolution that would request the Security Council to reconsider the applications of the North Korean and Viet Minh regimes, as well as those of the Republics of Korea and of Viet-Nam, with a view to recommending the "simultaneous admission" of all four. Subsequently, on January 28, India introduced still another draft, with Syria as cosponsor, under which the Assembly would have taken no stand on the membership question at this session

but would have requested the Council to consider "all applications" for admission.

The United States strongly opposed both draft resolutions. The U.S. representative declared that the Soviet draft both flouted the spirit of the Charter and was contrary to the May 28, 1948, advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice. He said that the words "simultaneous admission" implied another Soviet veto if the U.S.S.R.'s "all or nothing" demand was not accepted. The practical effect of the Soviet proposal, he pointed out, was arbitrarily to "lump together two states which, by every test, meet the Charter specifications" and have "on numerous occasions been endorsed for admission by heavy majorities in the General Assembly and the Security Council" with "two other political entities which, it is generally conceded, do not meet the standards of the Charter" and "which have never been found qualified either by the Assembly or by the Security Council."

Mr. Greenbaum asserted that neither the North Korean nor Viet Minh regimes has the qualifications for membership in the United Nations required by article 4 of the Charter, citing certain well-established facts concerning these two regimes in support of his assertion. In light of all these facts, he declared:

> . . . it is no wonder that virtually no state outside the Communist orbit has seen fit to extend recognition to the regimes of North Korea and North Viet-Nam. By the same token, it appears to us unthinkable that these two countries should be proposed for membership in the United Nations. For this reason my delegation has opposed, and will continue to oppose, their applications. My delegation will vote against their admission.

The U.S. representative stated that the same arguments were pertinent to the draft resolution introduced by India and Syria, which in effect "reduces all the applicants, regardless of their past history and present qualifications, to the same footing." This, he contended, would do "grave injustice" to the Republics of Korea and Viet-Nam. In fairness to them, Mr. Greenbaum urged, "we should reaffirm our previous findings in their cases and should thereby let them and the world know that we have not abandoned them."

The U.S. position was supported by a substantial majority of the members. The two 13-power drafts, now revised by the sponsors to request the Security Council to report to the Assembly "as soon as possible," were approved by the committee on January 30. Earlier the Argentine delegation had decided, in view of the sponsors' revision, not to press certain amendments to these texts that it had suggested. The vote on the draft resolution concerning the Republic of Korea was 45 to 8 (Soviet bloc), with 22 abstentions and that on

the draft resolution concerning the Republic of Viet-Nam, 44 to 8 (Soviet bloc), with 23 abstentions.

The Soviet draft resolution was voted down, 35 against to 1 in favor, with 35 abstentions, after a separate vote on the reference to North Korea had resulted in its deletion and after a Soviet request for separate votes on the Republic of Korea, Viet-Nam, and the Viet Minh regime had been rejected. The Soviet representative had then stated that he would have to abstain on his own draft resolution as amended since the purpose of this draft, "simultaneous admission," had been defeated by deletion of the reference to North Korea.

India and Syria decided, in view of the action already taken by the committee, not to insist on a vote on their joint draft resolution.

On February 28 the two resolutions calling for the early admission to the United Nations of the Republics of Korea and Viet-Nam were adopted in plenary by votes of 40 to 8, with 16 abstentions and 40 to 8, with 18 abstentions, respectively.

Following the vote in the Security Council on March 7, 1957, recommending the admission of Ghana to the United Nations, the U.S. representative, Ambassador Lodge, informed the Council that the United States intended to request an early Council meeting on these two resolutions. Stating that the United Nations had "recently been invigorated by the admission of many new states and especially by increased representation from the continents of Africa and Asia," he declared that the Republics of Korea and Viet-Nam "fully deserve to have their voices added to those we have already admitted."

ADMISSION OF GHANA

The Security Council met on March 7 at the request of the United Kingdom and Australia to consider the membership application of Ghana (previously the British colony of the Gold Coast). This application had been submitted by cablegram dated March 6, the day on which Ghana achieved independent status as a sovereign state within the British Commonwealth. The Council had before it a British-Australian draft resolution which would recommend to the General Assembly the admission of Ghana.

The U.S. representative, Ambassador Lodge, urged the unanimous adoption of this draft resolution. Declaring that Ghana was "clearly prepared to accept the responsibilities as well as to enjoy the privileges of sovereignty and of United Nations membership," he quoted from President Eisenhower's March 6 message of congratulation to the Government and people of Ghana, in which the President had said:

We have watched with particular admiration the manner in which you have attained your independence, for it shows the good fruit of statesmanlike, cooperative effort between the government and people of Ghana and the government and people of the United Kingdom. I am sure that this same spirit will characterize Ghana's relationship with the free world, including the great and voluntary association of nations, the British Commonwealth.

Ambassador Lodge called attention to the presence of Vice President Nixon at the independence ceremonies in Accra and recalled that many of Ghana's distinguished leaders had been educated in this country and that many Americans had their ancestry in Ghana. He stated that in common with Ghana "we want the free and democratic way of life," and declared that Ghana had "demonstrated clearly its ability to govern itself in a democratic way." He also noted "Ghana's responsible approach to world affairs and dedication to the solution of problems by democratic and peaceful means" as evidenced in its Prime Minister's initial public statement.

The Security Council unanimously recommended the admission of Ghana, and the following day, on March 8, the General Assembly acted favorably on this recommendation, also by unanimous vote. Thus, on the last day of the second part of the 11th General Assembly, U.N. membership increased to 81.

Enlargement of Councils

Two items on the agenda for the 11th session of the General Assembly involved amendment of the Charter: (1) the question of increasing the number of nonpermanent members of the Security Council and, in case of such an increase, the number of votes required for decisions of the Council; and (2) the question of enlarging the Economic and Social Council. A third item involved the question of amending the Statute of the International Court of Justice to enlarge the Court. The inclusion of these items was requested by Latin American members, the number varying in each instance, and Spain. These requests were granted by the Assembly without debate, and the items were assigned to the full plenary rather than to a committee for discussion.

A related request from the same general group, but one that did not involve the amendment processes established by the U.N. Charter, concerned enlargement of the International Law Commission, which had been established by the General Assembly. This item was referred to the Assembly's Legal Committee for consideration and is discussed below in part IV, p. 257.

BACKGROUND

In 1945, when the composition of the principal organs of the United Nations was determined, its immediate potential membership was 51. By the end of 1956, however, there were 80 U.N. members and the prospect of still more. The sponsors of the "enlargement" items referred to this development and based their requests on the need to maintain an equitable geographic distribution in the principal U.N. organs and to facilitate "the participation of new Members in the work of these organs." They expressed the view that amendment of the Charter was unnecessary in the case of the Trusteeship Council because its membership is automatically increased, under the Charter, on the admission of a new member administering trust territories.

Article 108 of the Charter stipulates that amendments require the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratification by two-thirds of the members of the United Nations, including the permanent members of the Security Council. Amendment of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, under article 69 of the statute, is effected by the same procedure, except that the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the Security Council, may make special provision concerning participation of states that are parties to the statute but are not U.N. members.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY DISCUSSION

The General Assembly began consideration of the question of the enlargement of the Security Council on December 14. The discussion during seven plenary meetings before the Assembly recessed for Christmas on December 21 was inconclusive. The discussion was not resumed after the Christmas recess, and the Assembly agreed without objection on February 26, 1957, to defer until its 12th session further consideration of the "enlargement" items. There was therefore no discussion at the 11th session of the agenda items concerning enlargement of the Economic and Social Council and of the International Court of Justice.

PROPOSAL FOR SECURITY COUNCIL ENLARGEMENT

While there was general agreement that the Security Council should be enlarged, there was no agreement on the size of this increase or how it should be allocated geographically. The U.S.S.R. further complicated the situation by introducing the Chinese representation issue.

The Assembly had before it a draft resolution introduced by 19 Latin American members and Spain which would have added two nonpermanent seats to the Security Council, bringing its total membership to 13. The draft resolution also provided that in this event, eight votes, rather than seven votes as in the past, would be required for a Security Council decision. Subsequently, on December 19, the cosponsors amended this draft to provide that the eight nonpermanent seats would be distributed as follows: Latin America, 2 seats; Asia and Africa, 2 seats; the British Commonwealth, one seat; Western and Southern Europe, 2 seats; and Eastern Europe, one seat. This amendment was offered in an effort to meet the criticism, made by the Soviet bloc and many members from Asia and Africa, that the original draft provided no assurance with respect to "equitable geographical distribution," one of the criteria set forth by the Charter for the selection of the nonpermanent members of the Security Council.

The original informal geographic allocation of nonpermanent seats at the first General Assembly in 1946 gave two seats to Latin America, one to Western Europe, one to Eastern Europe, one to the Middle East and Africa, and one to the British Commonwealth. No provision was made for the Far East because there were in 1946 only two Far Eastern members—China, one of the permanent members of the Council, and the Philippines. Though their number increased, no Far Eastern member occupied a nonpermanent seat until the Philippines was elected to succeed Yugoslavia on the Council at the beginning of 1957, pursuant to an understanding reached at the time of Yugoslavia's election to this seat at the 10th General Assembly. By the end of 1956 and excluding the 5 permanent members of the Council, the number of Far Eastern members had risen to 7, those from the Middle East and Africa from 8 to 17, those from Western Europe from 7 to 15, those from Eastern Europe from 5 to 9, and those from the British Commonwealth from 5 to 7. The number of Latin American members remains unchanged, since all the American Republics were original members.

Soviet "Conditions"

The Soviet representative declared early in the debate that it was not possible to support the proposals to enlarge the principal U.N. bodies while the principle of equitable geographic distribution of the seats on these bodies was ignored with respect to Eastern Europe. He also declared that it was "inadmissible" to consider amending the Charter in the absence of the Chinese Communists, whose ratification, he asserted, would be required for any amendment to become effective. When the "lawful rights" of the Chinese Communists in the

United Nations had been restored, the Soviet representative said, the U.S.S.R. would agree to an enlargement of U.N. bodies.

U.S. Position

The Latin American proposal was endorsed by the United States, the United Kingdom, France, and some others.

Speaking in support of the 20-power draft resolution on December 18, the U.S. representative, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, commended the Latin American initiative. He recalled that the United States, in supporting the Philippine candidacy for the Security Council, had acted on its belief that the Far East "had not been given its proper opportunity to share in the deliberations of the Security Council." This was a situation, he declared, that must be corrected. "The United States," he said, "was, therefore, already well disposed to an enlargement of the Security Council when so many new members were admitted." With respect to the size of this increase he stated:

> The size of the increase has been carefully considered by the United States Government. We have consulted widely with delegations from all parts of the world. We have considered the question in relation to the increase of the United Nations membership and to the responsibility which the Security Council bears—a great responsibility given to this relatively small and vital organ by the member states "in order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations."
>
> We have weighed the advantages of associating a larger number of nations with the work of the Council against the advantages of a smaller structure which can act quickly and decisively, when not paralyzed by abuse of the veto. We have concluded that an increase of two seats—one for the countries of Asia, and one for the countries of Western and Southern Europe—would best contribute to the organization of the Security Council in the pursuit of its functions. We will therefore support the resolution put forward by the countries of Latin America.

Referring to the Soviet interest in the allocation of a seat to Eastern Europe, Senator Humphrey said that with the proposed increase in the size of the Security Council, "it would be possible to provide representation to Eastern Europe without denying equitable representation to other geographic areas." With respect to the other nonpermanent seats on the Council, the United States believed the customary pattern should be retained. Within this context Senator Humphrey stated that "the United States Delegation would support an appropriate allocation of all non-permanent seats in an expanded council, either by a consensus statement by the President, or by resolution, or by some other means acceptable to the members."

The U.S. representative commented that the Soviet delegate "surely knows that if enlargement of the Security Council is defeated by his efforts or by failure of members to ratify, not only is a seat for Eastern Europe in jeopardy, but the many new member states of Africa,

Asia and Europe may well be denied equitable and effective representation on the Security Council." Under these circumstances the countries of Asia might "well exercise a continuing claim for an existing seat, both on the basis of equitable geographical distribution and of contributions to international peace and security."

Senator Humphrey termed the Chinese representation issue "wholly extraneous," and said:

> . . . as the distinguished representative of the United Kingdom pointed out earlier in the debate, this issue is not germane to the question before us. We must not allow this issue to be used as a pretext to deprive the new members of the United Nations of their right, under the Charter, fully to participate in the work of the organization. The question relating to the representation of China has already been decided at this session. To reargue this highly controversial issue will not provide fair and equitable representation for the new member states nor assist in expanding the membership of the non-permanent seats.

At the previous meeting the Syrian and Indian representatives had suggested that the question of enlarging the Security Council be referred to a committee for study. Referring to this suggestion, Senator Humphrey expressed doubt "that further delay or study would materially add to the facts now available or produce any proposals more generally acceptable than the draft resolution sponsored by the Latin American countries." He urged a decision "now so that we might give appropriate recognition as soon as possible to the new members of the United Nations."

SECOND DRAFT RESOLUTION

Strong opposition to the 20-power draft resolution was expressed by numerous Asian and African members. The Indian representative, for example, endorsed the Soviet demand with respect to Communist China. He doubted that the proposed increase of two was proportionate to the growth in membership. He stated that the allocation of one of the proposed new seats to Asia and of the other to Europe was unacceptable, contending that in the event of an enlargement the whole of it should go to Asia and Africa. He noted that India's opportunities for election to the Council were decreasing with the addition of new members, and referred to the possibility of arrangements whereby the seat allocated to an area could be more equitably distributed within that area. He apparently had in mind in this connection the system of semipermanent seats instituted by the League of Nations—a system that is expressly precluded by the Charter provision that retiring members of the Security Council "shall not be eligible for immediate re-election."

The Thai delegate suggested that an increase of three—two for Asia and Africa and one for Europe—might offer a way out of the dilemma. The French representative, however, maintained that a two-seat increase was the maximum that could be made without jeopardizing the efficient functioning of the Council.

At its final discussions of this item on December 20, the plenary had before it a second draft resolution which had been introduced by Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Syria, and Yemen. Under this draft the Assembly would decide to appoint a 15-member committee to study the matter of increasing "the number of members" of the Security Council "in all its aspects" and to report to the Assembly.

This wording clearly indicated that discussion in the proposed committee would not be confined to the question of increasing the number of nonpermanent seats on the Security Council, as did Soviet support of the proposal. The Soviet representative, categorically stating that the U.S.S.R. would not ratify any amendments to enlarge the principal Councils of the United Nations so long as the "legitimate rights" of Communist China in the United Nations "had not been restored," declared that the new draft resolution constituted "a step forward toward an affirmative solution" of this problem.

The Assembly's final discussion at its 11th session of the question of enlarging the Security Council was devoted to a series of statements by Asian and African members in support of the 16-power draft, but no action was taken on either draft resolution. The incentive for a major effort to reach prompt agreement on the size and allocation of any increase was largely destroyed by the Soviet condition with respect to Chinese representation. Moreover, Indian statements during the debate and the 16-power draft resolution had interjected the complicated issue of the permanent seats on the Council.

Chinese Representation in the United Nations

During 1956 the Soviet bloc, with the support of a few non-Communist countries that favor participation of the Chinese Communist regime in the United Nations, continued its efforts to exclude representatives of the Government of the Republic of China from various bodies of the United Nations and its specialized agencies and to seat representatives of the Chinese Communist regime. Since 1950 this question has consistently been raised in one form or another in almost all United Nations organs—the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship

Council and their subsidiary bodies, and in the specialized agencies and their subsidiary bodies, including subcommittees that are purely technical in purpose.

The United States has strongly opposed these efforts, taking the position that (1) the Government of the Republic of China is the sole and rightful representative of China and is the only one entitled to represent China in international organizations and conferences; (2) the Chinese Communist regime is a convicted aggressor which does not live up to recognized standards of international conduct; and (3) it is out of the question even to consider proposals whereby the Chinese Communist regime would be represented in the U.N. system. In order to avoid time-consuming debate on the substance of the issue and to facilitate agreement, the United States has taken the leadership in having the question disposed of by procedural means. The large majority of countries have supported the U.S. position, and at the end of 1956 representatives of the Government of the Republic of China continued to represent China in every U.N. and specialized agency body of which China was a member.

CONSIDERATION AT THE ELEVENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Before the Assembly convened India requested the inclusion of an additional item entitled "Representation of China in the United Nations" on the agenda. When the Assembly's General Committee was dealing with the Indian request on November 14, 1956, the U.S. representative, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, proposed that the committee recommend the adoption by the General Assembly of a two-paragraph draft resolution whereby it would decide (1) "not to include in the agenda . . . the additional item proposed by India"; and (2) "not to consider, at its eleventh regular session, any proposals to exclude the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China or to seat representatives of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China." In support of his proposal Ambassador Lodge said: "We strongly oppose the seating of the representative of the Chinese Communist regime, which has consistently acted in contempt of the purposes and principles of our Charter." The General Committee accepted the U.S. proposal by a vote of 8 to 5, with 1 abstention.

In the course of the debate on the General Committee's recommendation, in the plenary meeting on November 15, 1956, Ambassador Lodge again spoke in support of his proposal.

On November 16, 1956, the General Assembly adopted the U.S. proposal by a vote of 47 to 24 (9 Soviet bloc, Afghanistan, Burma,

Ceylon, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Nepal, Norway, Sudan, Sweden, Syria, Yemen, and Yugoslavia), with 8 abstentions (Cambodia, Israel, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Portugal, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia). Before adopting the resolution, the Assembly rejected, by a rollcall vote of 25 to 45, with 9 abstentions, an Indian amendment to delete the word "not" before the words "to include" in the first paragraph of the text. Another Indian amendment—which would have deleted the entire second paragraph of the resolution—was also rejected by a rollcall vote of 24 to 47, with 8 abstentions.

After the close of the plenary meeting the Indian representative submitted to the President of the Assembly a draft resolution to the effect that the Assembly's decision "not to consider, at its eleventh regular session, any proposals" was inoperative since this clause failed to receive a two-thirds majority vote. This Indian proposal, however, was not pressed to a vote.

Despite the action by the Assembly on November 16, 1956, the Soviet Union on February 12, 1957, in the meeting of the Credentials Committee, introduced a draft resolution providing that the credentials of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China not be recognized as valid. The chairman, Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand, ruled the Soviet draft resolution out of order on the ground that its consideration was precluded by the Assembly's decision of November 16, 1956. The Soviet delegate challenged the chairman's ruling, but the ruling was upheld by a vote of 7 to 2 (Burma, U.S.S.R.). On February 21, 1957, the General Assembly voted 60 to 0, with 1 abstention (Chile), to approve the report of the Credentials Committee as a whole. After Sir Leslie Munro presented the Credentials Committee's report and before the vote was taken in this plenary meeting, Ceylon, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Poland, the U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia expressed their reservations on the Credentials Committee's action concerning the credentials of the representatives of the Government of the Republic of China. All, except Poland, however, indicated that they would vote in favor of the report. Rumania expressed similar reservations after the vote was taken but explained that it had voted in favor of the report.

PART II

Economic and Social Cooperation and Human Rights

The United Nations and its subsidiary bodies and the specialized agencies continued during 1956 to promote economic and social progress and the recognition of basic human rights. Continued emphasis was placed on the problems and needs of the underdeveloped countries.

One of the most difficult problems facing all nations, but more sharply the economically underdeveloped nations of the world, remains the problem of achieving a satisfactory rate of economic development within the safety of sound economic and financial policies. This problem continued to be considered in 1956 by the Economic and Social Council and its subsidiary bodies in all its complex aspects, and member governments benefited from a mutual exchange of ideas and experiences.

The necessity of the annual food production staying ahead of the annual increase of the population of the world challenged the combined efforts of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and resulted in increased coordination among these bodies in agriculture, water resources, meteorology, health and sanitation, transport and communications, and labor.

The divergent interests of member nations in the field of trade arrangements and agreements were discussed in open forum with consequent greater understanding of, if not the solution to, the manifold problems involved. Countries which produced primary commodities and depend on the export of these commodities as the primary source of their foreign exchange continued to press for a worldwide stabilization of prices for such commodities, while at the same time striving to industrialize their economies to free themselves from the need to import basic manufactures from the industrially developed nations.

The United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance has continued to contribute directly to economic development. In the amount of assistance rendered and the amount of money contributed,

1956 provided the largest annual program of technical assistance since the program began in 1950. Government contributions to the program were 4 percent greater than for 1955. The United States contributed $14,419,430, which was 50 percent of the total contributions. During the year 2,346 experts were provided to help the governments in some 100 countries and territories. These experts were recruited from 67 countries with 601, or more than one-quarter of the total number, coming from countries or territories which also receive services of foreign experts under the program. A total of 2,128 fellowships were awarded in 1956 to nationals from 99 countries, with some 86 countries and territories serving as hosts and providing the necessary training facilities. Training and demonstration equipment valued at $3,302,000 was purchased from 45 different countries. Efforts were continued by the governments, the participating organizations, and the Technical Assistance Board to insure close cooperation and effective coordination between the United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance and other programs of technical assistance both at headquarters and field levels.

The Hungarian crisis involved major social as well as political problems. There was the problem of providing assistance to the refugees who fled Hungary and relief for those who were unable to leave. Assistance to Hungarian refugees was coordinated through the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees who received contributions totaling $6,900,000 to aid in relief and resettlement. A program of direct relief within Hungary was carried out by the International Committee of the Red Cross in agreement with the Secretary-General.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees also continued his program of permanent solutions for the unassimilated refugees within his mandate. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees as of June 30, 1956, had 922,000 men, women, and children within its jurisdiction for whose benefit it was engaging in relief and rehabilitation activities.

Apart from programs related to refugees, the International Labor Organization and the World Health Organization held their annual conferences, and UNESCO held its biennial conference with the member governments focusing attention on the programs of those agencies best designed to contribute to human welfare in the fields of the agencies' responsibilities. The Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on the Status of Women, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, and the Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities also met during 1956. UNICEF continued its outstanding work for the benefit of children and mothers.

The Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council approved resolutions in 1956 which launched the remaining

phase of the action program originally proposed by the United States in 1953. These resolutions call for periodic reporting and studies of specific aspects of human rights. The first phase—provision of advisory services in the field of human rights—was authorized by the General Assembly in 1955. A first seminar under the advisory services program for news personnel from countries throughout the world was held during the summer in Geneva. The United States offered to act as host for a seminar for Asian women on the general subject of civic responsibility to be held in 1957 but agreed with the decision of an expert working group convened by the United Nations in October that this meeting should be held in Thailand. The Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities continued its study of discrimination in education looking toward its completion in 1957 and began work on its study of discrimination in religion.

WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION

The Economic and Social Council engaged in its annual review of the world economic situation during its 22d session which was held from July 9 to August 9, 1956. This review was assisted by the various economic surveys prepared by the U.N. Secretariat, the most important of which was "The World Economic Survey, 1955." In addition, the Council had before it regional economic surveys covering the Middle East, Africa, Europe, Asia and the Far East, and Latin America and a general review of international commodity trade, as well as the replies of U.N. members to an annual questionnaire on employment and balance of payments.

"The World Economic Survey" reviewed the economic record of the decade from 1945 to 1955. Although it concluded that the problem of mass poverty in a large part of the world remains as stubborn as ever, it found the accomplishment in the post World War II decade was substantially above that of the decade following World War I. The survey pointed out, *inter alia*, that: the total value of output of factories, farms, and mines in the private enterprise economies in 1954 was about 60 percent above 1939; the gap in total production between the developed and the underdeveloped countries has been increasing; the expansion of world trade has been much more rapid than during the corresponding years after the First World War; and the increase in industrial production in the centrally planned economies has been relatively large but not comparable to the growth of private enterprise economies.

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With respect to the economic situation in 1955, the survey noted that there was continued expansion and economic activity in the industrially developed private enterprise economies, while development in the underdeveloped areas was uneven. For example, the rate of expansion in Western Europe as a whole in 1955 was higher than in the preceding 2 years. In the U.S. and Canada, following some economic readjustment in 1953 and 1954, the recovery in industrial production in 1955 raised output above the previous postwar peak reached during the first half of 1953. As for the centrally planned economies in 1955, the survey reported that industrial expansion and better harvests contributed to higher productivity.

In the "World Economic Survey" the U.N. Secretary-General, after noting the great economic gains of the past 10 years, devoted himself to an extensive discussion of the problems of commodity price stabilization. He characterized the problem as the need for more government interest in and willingness to seek commodity stabilization rather than the creation of machinery for this purpose.

Among the various points made by delegations during the ensuing discussion, the following may be noted: there was general recognition of the global economic progress made in recent years; the underdeveloped countries emphasized the growing gap between standards of living of developed and underdeveloped countries; a number of underdeveloped countries expressed concern with problems raised by the disposal of U.S. surplus agricultural commodities; there was considerable reference to the unfavorable impact of the development of synthetics on underdeveloped countries; a number of appreciative references were made to U.S. assistance to underdeveloped countries; and the underdeveloped countries stressed their concern with economic development problems and welcomed the Secretary-General's emphasis on the need for commodity price stabilization as an important line of attack on these problems.

The U.S. representative, Dr. John C. Baker, in his statement to the Council noted that in comparison with any other decade of the last half century the years 1945–55 were a period of unprecedented economic accomplishment for large areas of the world. While differences in economic performance were evident among different countries, in almost every country the rate of economic growth in the postwar period has been well above earlier long-term trends. He noted in particular that, without sacrificing desirable mobility of resources and flexibility of output, unemployment in the industrial countries had been reduced to levels that before the war seemed impossible to most economists. With respect to developments in the United States, Dr. Baker pointed out that the postwar period had witnessed an almost

constantly rising economic activity which had continued into 1956, carrying the economy to new high levels. He noted that the general expansion of demand had been so pervasive that it was found necessary to adopt monetary measures to control inflationary pressures.

Looking to probable developments in the years ahead, he suggested that many factors pointed to continued economic growth; that while such growth would bring change and instability these should be welcomed as part of the process of economic development; that international trade and private investment would play a more important role in the world economy; and that industrialization would continue to spread in the less developed areas.

In the resolutions adopted under this item the Council called on the Secretary-General to make available to member governments a report on the techniques for making surveys of resources and requirements surveys as an aid to better utilization of all their resources. It also recommended that countries should take into account the possible effect of their trade and production policies on other members.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), negotiated under United Nations auspices although not a United Nations instrument, contains a set of principles by which 35 signatory nations agree to conduct their foreign trade relations. It also provides for reductions in tariffs and other governmentally imposed barriers to international trade and a forum for the discussion and settlement of trade problems.

TARIFF NEGOTIATIONS

In accordance with arrangements concluded during the 10th session of the contracting parties to the GATT, a "fourth round" of tariff negotiations was convened in Geneva, Switzerland, on January 18, 1956. The results of the negotiations were signed on May 23, 1956, by representatives of the 22 participating governments.

Concessions were granted directly to the United States applying to $400,000,000 (based on 1954 data) of our exports to them. Under GATT rules, United States exporters will benefit not only from these concessions but also from the concessions other countries granted to one another. The United States granted concessions applicable to $519,000,000 of our 1954 imports from the country with which each concession was initially negotiated. Imports of these same items from other participating countries amounted to an additional $134,000,000.

ELEVENTH GATT SESSION

The 11th session of the contracting parties to the GATT was held at Geneva, Switzerland, from October 11 through November 17, 1956. During the session, arrangements were made to hold comprehensive consultations during 1957 with most of the countries maintaining import quotas for balance-of-payments reasons. This will be the first general examination of such quantitative restrictions since the General Agreement was initiated in 1948.

Another significant development was agreement on a procedure permitting the provisional participation of Switzerland in the General Agreement, if tariff negotiations with that country can be successfully concluded. Those tariff negotiations may take place in the latter part of 1957 or in 1958 after the Swiss Government has developed a new tariff law. Arrangements were also made whereby Brazil will be able to give effect to its new tariff promptly. Brazil will be required, however, to enter into tariff negotiations so that other countries may obtain appropriate adjustments.

Belgium, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands have negotiated and signed a treaty which when ratified will lead to the establishment of a common market among them. The Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) has created three committees to develop a mechanism within which the United Kingdom and other member countries may associate themselves with the envisaged six-country common market in a free trade area relationship. In accordance with an agreement at the 11th session, there will be consideration of the relationship of these arrangements to the General Agreement. These discussions will take place in 1957.

A way was also cleared for Nicaragua, a contracting party, and four neighboring states not contracting parties to form a Central American free trade area. The contracting parties discussed several other trade matters, including disposal of surplus agricultural products, discrimination in transport insurance, and consultations on trade in primary commodities.

ANNUAL PUBLICATION

International Trade—1955 was published at Geneva in May 1956. It contains a summary of recent developments in the structure and pattern of international trade, of trade barriers, and of controls and export promotion in international trade. It also contains a summary of the principal activities of the contracting parties to the General Agreement.

ORGANIZATION FOR TRADE COOPERATION

The agreement on an Organization for Trade Cooperation (OTC) was negotiated during the ninth GATT session in 1955 and signed on behalf of the United States subject to congressional authorization of United States membership.

During 1955 a bill authorizing United States membership was submitted to the Congress and hearings were held, but congressional action was not completed. Congressional approval for United States membership in the proposed Organization for Trade Cooperation will be sought again in 1957.

Commodity Problems (Including Surplus Disposal)

The great concern of many governments with problems of trade in primary commodities continued to be a major influence in the programs of interested intergovernmental organizations during 1956. The difficulties of reconciling the short-term interests of producing and consuming countries again proved an insurmountable obstacle to any long-term solution to the problem of price instability. Significant changes in price occurred in a number of commodities, notably sugar and ferrous scrap (where the movement was upward) and copper (where prices declined). Some progress was made in the elimination of the burdensome agricultural surpluses, but on the other hand surplus situations were appearing in metals such as lead, zinc, and copper.

The U.N. Economic and Social Council held its 22d session July–August 1956. The Council recommended that governments, when formulating their trade and production policies, should take into account the possible effects of such policies on other economies and in particular on the economic development of underdeveloped countries which depend heavily on trade in primary products and on stability in primary product prices. The Council also invited the U.N. bodies concerned to prepare analytical studies of international demand for primary products. The Council asked the Secretary-General to obtain the views and suggestions for improvement that the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the Commission on International Commodity Trade (CICT), and the Interim Coordinating Committee for International Commodity Arrangements (ICCICA) might have on the present arrangements for coordination of international commodity problems.

The Economic and Social Council, at its summer 1956 session, also approved the annual reports of its subsidiary bodies, the Commission on International Commodity Trade, in which the United States does

not participate, and the Interim Coordinating Committee on International Commodity Arrangements. CICT concerns itself with general commodity problems, including surplus disposal, and ICCICA advises the U.N. Secretary-General with regard to proposals for the establishment of international commodity study groups or the convening of international commodity conferences.

The Council also considered the report "Functions of a World Food Reserve—Scope and Limitations" prepared by the FAO in response to a resolution by the General Assembly. Subsequent action by the Council and by the General Assembly on this subject is discussed in this report under the heading "Food and Agriculture."

A new International Wheat Agreement, to succeed the one negotiated in 1953, was negotiated in London in July 1956. Six exporting countries and 42 importing countries have indicated their intention of participating in the new agreement, and all but three of these have deposited instruments of acceptance. These three have been granted an extension of time until March 31, 1957. Total guaranteed sales for the exporting countries are 8.2 million metric tons, including 3.6 million metric tons for the United States. These relatively modest quantities are due to the continued nonparticipation of the United Kingdom and the reluctance of importing countries to commit themselves for sizable quantities in view of the present oversupply of wheat.

A protocol of amendments to the International Sugar Agreement of 1953 was also negotiated in 1956. The protocol is now before governments for their consideration. To date virtually all of the 24 members of the present agreement have indicated that they intend to seek ratification of the amending protocol. The protocol modifies the price objective for sugar, revising it downward from 3.25–4.35 cents per pound to 3.15–4.00 cents. In addition it adjusts the export quotas of certain countries and provides for greater flexibility in the adjustment of these quotas to meet changing world conditions.

The United States does not participate in the International Tin Agreement, which came into force on July 1, 1956, some 2½ years after its negotiation. Since the agreement entered into force, the price of tin has been relatively stable, rising moderately due to the Suez crisis but remaining within the price range set as an objective in the agreement. Consequently no activity was necessary either in the utilization of the buffer stock or in the imposition of export quotas.

FAO's Committee on Commodity Problems (CCP) was active throughout the year, organizing a wide range of consultations on specific commodity problems. The principal objective of these consultations, in the view of the United States Government, is to improve world statistics on production and trade and to increase the exchange

of information between nations on the market situation and other commodity problems. The FAO Cocoa Study Group held its first session in Brussels in November 1956, and the Consultative Sub-Committee on the Economic Aspects of Rice held its first session in Rome, October–November 1956. CCP also called meetings of two *ad hoc* working parties, one in October on dairy products and one in January 1957 on coconut problems. The working party on dairy products concluded that a special study group would not promote increased consumption of dairy products.

The International Wool Study Group did not meet in 1956. Its Technical Committee, however, published its usual quarterly review of the world wool situation.

The International Rubber Study Group also did not meet in 1956, but its Management Committee met several times. The United States delegation submitted to this committee the first report of the Attorney General on competition in the synthetic rubber industry and a report to Congress by the President of the United States concerning U.S. rubber requirements and reserves. These reports and the United States delegate's comments on problems and practices connected with the rotation of natural rubber in U.S. stockpiles served to allay fears that natural rubber producing countries may have entertained with regard to possible monopolistic practices by the synthetic rubber industry or use of the stockpiles for the purpose of influencing market prices. The Management Committee also continued its study of the supply and demand position of natural and synthetic rubber.

The International Cotton Advisory Committee, with 32 governments as members, meets annually, and its Standing Committee meets monthly in Washington. This group provides a forum in which there can be a frank exchange of ideas on mutual problems among countries having a substantial interest in the production and trade in cotton. The United States was host to the annual plenary meeting in 1956. Particular attention was paid at the 1956 plenary to the cotton export program of the United States.

When a proposal to add provisions on commodity agreements to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was rejected in 1954, certain parties to GATT, not including the United States, initiated an effort to negotiate an independent agreement on procedures and principles to govern agreements on individual commodities. During the 1956 session of the contracting parties to the General Agreement, the countries that had participated in this effort concluded that it was unlikely agreement could be reached along the lines of the proposed convention and considered alternative approaches to the problems of commodity trade. A resolution was adopted setting forth the ways in which the contracting parties, while taking account

of the competence of other intergovernmental bodies, might enter into discussion of commodity problems. The resolution also provides for a review, at each annual session of the contracting parties of GATT, of trends and developments in international commodity trade and of problems relating to that trade which contribute to a country's balance-of-payments difficulties. The contracting parties might also be requested to consult regarding certain problems of commodity trade, and if they find that international joint action might be useful, they might recommend that a meeting of interested governments be arranged by the competent intergovernmental body, or as a last resort might sponsor such a meeting themselves. The United States, believing that there is no need for additional machinery for initiating action on commodity problems, did not support this resolution.

With regard to the disposal of agricultural surpluses, the principal forum for consideration of the international aspects of this problem is the Consultative Sub-Committee on Surplus Disposal of the FAO Committee on Commodity Problems. The subcommittee meets monthly in Washington. Twenty-seven countries are members of the subcommittee and 32 have observer status, as do 7 international organizations. In this forum the participating countries can obtain information about each other's disposal policies and bring to the group's attention any adverse effects that such policies may be having on international trade. The subcommittee in 1956 promoted negotiations which led to agreement on the Calcutta and Madras Milk Project, to which the United States, Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, and New Zealand contributed a total of $504,000, partly in services and equipment, to establish a milk processing and distribution program. In addition, four of the countries, the United States, Australia, the Netherlands, and New Zealand, made available dried skim milk at concessional prices for the project. The subcommittee also set up a Working Party on National Reserves. The report of this working party formed the basis for constructive proposals by the United States and other nations at the 11th session of the General Assembly.

At the 11th General Assembly the U.S. took the position that most of the objectives sought through the establishment of a world food reserve could best be achieved by setting up national reserves. The U.S. gave the matter further impetus by announcing through Senator Humphrey in Committee II that it was prepared to make available to needy countries under existing legislation and subject to further congressional authorization surplus agricultural commodities for the establishment of national reserve stocks to meet extraordinary needs due to crop failures or other emergencies or to mitigate excessive price effects of increased demand due to economic development programs. This offer was regarded as a new move by the U.S. in the

field of international economic cooperation and was widely welcomed during the subsequent committee discussion. The U.S. delegation made a number of statements in the committee designed to assure these countries that any surplus disposal for this purpose by the U.S. would be within the framework of the principles governing surplus disposal developed in the Food and Agriculture Organization and previously accepted by the United States. Our resolution on national food reserves was adopted unanimously including the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries.

Surplus disposal also continued to be a subject of discussion by the signatories to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The contracting parties at their 11th session emphasized once again that the problem of surplus disposal was one of the most serious confronting world trade and that the consultation procedures relating to such disposals were matters of great importance to many contracting parties. The general opinion was that expansion of consumption both by importing and exporting countries was more desirable as an objective than the restriction of production.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)

During 1956 the International Bank (IBRD) continued to play an important role in the field of international finance. Its contribution to world economic development was reflected in new loans amounting to $507,400,000 to 17 countries—Australia, Austria, Burma, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Finland, Haiti, India, Italy, Japan, Nicaragua, Norway, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Thailand, and Uruguay. These new credits raised the total of IBRD lending since its first loan in 1947 to $2,977,000,000 to 43 countries. Since 1949, when immediate postwar reconstruction requirements had been met, the Bank has made development loans in excess of $2,000,000,000 for a variety of projects in such fields as electric power, transportation, communications, industry, and agriculture.

An interesting development in 1956 was the sharp increase in the volume of lending in Asia. During the year the Bank made loans to Asian countries totaling more than $150,000,000. This was the first time loans in Asia during a calendar year exceeded $100,000,000. No loans were made by the Bank in the Middle East proper during calendar 1956. At one time it appeared possible that the Bank would make a loan to help finance the Aswan High Dam in Egypt. Bank participation was, however, contingent on grants being forthcoming

from the U.S. and U.K. Governments. When the offer of these grants was withdrawn by the two Governments in July 1956, the Bank's offer of loans automatically lapsed.

The IBRD also continued in 1956 to provide extensive guidance to its member countries on a wide range of economic development problems. Beginning with the mission that undertook a general survey of Colombia in 1949, the Bank has given 21 countries assistance in programing their development. The Bank has used general survey missions and resident missions. It has also continued its policy of posting resident representatives in a number of countries to give assistance in dealing with development problems. It has continued to operate the Economic Development Institute which was organized in 1955 to serve as an international staff college for senior officers from the less developed countries. The Institute syllabus concentrates on actual situations and policies concerned with those sectors of the economy that are of special importance to development.

The sale of IBRD bonds in the private capital market has for some time served as one of the chief means of mobilizing private capital for international investment. In addition, private investors participate directly in loans extended by the IBRD and purchase loans from the Bank's portfolio without the Bank's guarantee. During the year there was a sharp drop in direct participation by private institutional investors from the record high of $31,000,000 in 1955 to $6,800,000. The decline reflected the drastic tightening of the money market and the necessity on the part of commercial banks to devote available funds to meeting the credit requirements of their domestic customers. Sales from the Bank's portfolio amounted to $63,500,000. Aggregate participations and portfolio sales by December 31, 1956, totaled in excess of $290,000,000.

At the end of the year the Bank had 60 members and a subscribed capital of $9,265,400,000. Argentina and Viet-Nam joined the Bank during the year.

International Monetary Fund (*IMF*)

The International Monetary Fund's purposes include promotion of international monetary cooperation, facilitation of expansion and balanced growth of world trade, promotion of foreign exchange stability and of orderly foreign exchange arrangements among its members, and assistance in the establishment of a multilateral system of international payments and in the elimination of foreign exchange restrictions which hamper trade. The Fund has $8,000,000,000 in gold and member nations' currencies to use toward the achievement of these purposes.

Utilization of the Fund's resources was at a higher level in 1956 than in any previous year of its operations. Drawings on the Fund totaled $693,000,000 in 1956, as against $468,000,000 in the highest previous year (1947). Total drawings on the Fund from its inception to the end of 1956 were $1,909,000,000; of this amount the net outstanding at the end of last year was $810,000,000. Standby agreements totaled a record $1,117,000,000 at the end of 1956. Under such agreements a member is assured that during a specified period of time an agreed amount of resources will be available whenever requested. The Fund's resources were used in part in 1956 to support major efforts by certain member countries to stabilize their economies under conditions of greater freedom from restrictions.

In 1956 the Fund carried on the fifth series of annual consultations with those Fund members still imposing exchange restrictions under its Articles of Agreement. In these consultations, which provide the IMF with an opportunity to review the whole range of its members' exchange activities, the Fund continued to place emphasis on the relaxation and removal of restrictions of a discriminatory nature, particularly bilateral arrangements. This has been of particular interest to the United States since restrictions applied to payments to the dollar area are generally more severe than those applicable to other areas.

The Fund also continued to provide, in response to members' requests, technical assistance on various internal and external financial problems. This service is of particular significance during a period when many new countries are facing for the first time full responsibility for their financial policies.

Argentina and Viet-Nam became members of the Fund in 1956, bringing its total membership to 60.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE)

The United States regards the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) as a highly useful forum for the discussion of measures for promoting the economic development of the region.

In July 1956 C. V. Narasimhan of India was elected the new executive secretary of ECAFE, succeeding P. S. Lokanathan, also of India, who had been executive secretary since ECAFE's establishment in 1947. The Commission at its 12th session held in Bangalore, India, in February 1956 noted previous recommendations by the Economic and Social Council and the executive secretary's own suggestion that the Commission might wish to insure greater and earlier results by a further concentration and streamlining of its work programs. These suggestions were referred by the Commission to its subsidiary bodies

which met during 1956. Proposals for concentration and streamlining of the work program will be considered at the 13th session of the Commission.

A continuing subject for discussion was the question of the utility of interregional trade "consultations." The Commission at its 12th session called on the secretariat to prepare a report on the experiences of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) in this field. This report was considered later in the year by the Sub-Committee on Trade, but no decision was reached. This matter also will be discussed further at the 13th session of ECAFE. The United States has opposed such consultations on the grounds that they do not offer any real prospect of increasing the levels of mutually beneficial trade in view of the constricting discriminatory effects of bilateralism implicit in such proposed "consultations" and the availability of effective multilateral instruments.

The secretariat's preliminary reconnaissance study of the development potential of the lower Mekong River Basin was drafted during 1956 and is expected to be published in 1957.

At the second meeting of the Working Party on Economic Development and Planning, held in Bangkok in September 1956, it was agreed that the emphasis should shift from theory and techniques to practical application. With the participants speaking as experts rather than for their respective governments, the various possible means of implementation were discussed under the following headings: public investment; role of monetary and credit policy; role of fiscal policy, especially in the field of taxation; foreign trade, exchange and investment policy; direct controls; and the need for corresponding social and institutional policies. Agrarian reforms, cooperatives, and community development were specially recommended.

The second meeting of the Sub-Committee on Trade, held in Tokyo in October 1956, gave attention among other things to a study of the techniques of international trade fairs and exhibitions, and the U. S. delegation presented a paper on U.S. experience with its international trade fair program. Also considered and adopted at that meeting was a secretariat paper which contained some excellent suggestions for simplifying regulations and procedures on the conduct of international trade. Further consideration was also given to a proposed regional training center for trade promotion personnel. In general, the discussions at this meeting reflected the importance placed by countries of the region on trade as a factor in economic development.

At its 12th session the Commission approved a proposal to expand the Inland Transport Committee's terms of reference to include certain activities in the field of telecommunications. There was correspondence between ECAFE and the International Telecommuni-

cation Union (ITU) during the year with a view to coordination and avoidance of duplication.

Other U.N. organizations with which ECAFE cooperated included especially the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). This cooperation took such forms as supplying regional information to FAO, participation in FAO's Annual Regional Conference, and a joint ECAFE/FAO study on timber trends and prospects in the region. At the aforementioned Working Party Meeting on Economic Development, it was agreed that the 1957 session of the working party would be held jointly with the FAO and would be devoted to agricultural development and planning.

Advisory services by the ECAFE secretariat continued to be made available to member governments at their request within the framework of the program of Work and Priorities and in cooperation with the U.N. Technical Assistance Administration and the specialized agencies.

Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)

The Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) during 1956 continued to study economic and technical problems relating to agriculture, coal, electric power, housing, inland transport, steel, timber, and trade.

The Commission's work, as in the past, is oriented toward the exchange of technical information, the promotion of East-West contacts, and the expansion of intra-European trade. The Soviet-bloc countries are continuing to present information on their economic activities but still at a level far below that submitted by the Western members who capitalize on every opportunity to press the U.S.S.R. and its satellites for data comparable to those presented by the United States and Western Europe. Besides the exchange of information, the Commission has encouraged greater contacts between people from Eastern and Western Europe through reciprocal and mutually advantageous visits of specialists in industry, transport, agriculture, and trade; international meetings and conferences of scientists and experts on technical and economic matters; and visits and other forms of contacts between businessmen.

As in previous years, the secretariat and the technical committees of the ECE issued reports on the work being done in each of their respective fields of economic activity. In addition to its major annual report, the *Economic Survey of Europe*, the secretariat continued its quarterly reports on developments in the European economy, including developments in the Soviet-bloc countries.

The United States has continued its active participation in the ECE work. Its representation at ECE meetings included able technicians from European posts and Washington and from private industry. The United States participation has also been aided by the U.S. resident delegation in Geneva.

Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA)

The Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) during 1956 continued its work on the basic problems of economic development, in particular, on the series of studies, *Analyses and Projects of Economic Development.* Economic studies of Argentina, Mexico, and Bolivia were carried forward, the first of which it is hoped will be completed in report form in time for the seventh session of ECLA in May 1957.

A number of studies were made of the Central American economic integration program and at the year's end were being collected into a comprehensive review of all of the activities under the program since its inception. ECLA continued its publication of the *Annual Economic Survey of Latin America*, which analyzes current trends in the economy of the region, with attention to country problems as well as regional problems.

The fifth meeting of the Committee of the Whole, held on May 14–15, 1956, was devoted principally to examining the work of the secretariat since the last plenary meeting, adopting the annual report to the Economic and Social Council, and amending slightly the work program of the Commission.

The first meeting of the Committee on Trade, established by a resolution adopted at the sixth session of ECLA in September 1955, was held at Santiago from November 11 through 19, 1955. The proposals considered by the committee related to the establishment of regional payments arrangements and the development of a regional market in specific products. It was agreed that further study of these matters would be required.

The Central American Economic Cooperation Committee, associated with ECLA, made active progress in 1956. At its third session in Managua in January 1956, the committee decided to enlist the assistance of private enterprise in achieving the aims of the program and, to this end, created a Central American Committee for Industrial Initiative. The latter body held its first meeting in Guatemala City from July 16 through 21, 1956, and discussed concrete possibilities of developing various specific industries within the regional economic integration program. Other activities during 1956 in the field of

Central American economic integration included the completion of a draft of a multilateral Treaty for Free Trade and Economic Integration.

ECLA continued to work in close cooperation with the Food and Agriculture Organization and other specialized agencies of the U.N., with the U.N. Technical Assistance Administration, and with the Organization of American States, with a view to coordination and avoidance of duplication of effort.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Financing of Economic Development

Most underdeveloped countries in the United Nations continue to regard financing of economic development as the most difficult long-term problem to be solved if they are to achieve significant increases in their standards of living. Accordingly, during 1956 both the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly devoted much time and attention to this question.

SPECIAL DEVELOPMENT FUND

The proposal to establish a special development fund within the United Nations for the purpose of making grants-in-aid and long-term, low interest loans to underdeveloped countries continued to be a major item on the agenda of the Economic and Social Council and the General Assembly. A resolution of the 10th session of the General Assembly in 1955 had invited governments to submit to the Secretary-General their views on the possible forms, functions, and responsibilities that the special United Nations fund might have. The replies of 46 governments, received in the spring of the year, were summarized and systematized by an *ad hoc* committee established for this purpose by the General Assembly and were presented in an interim report to the 22d session of the ECOSOC. The United States was represented on the *ad hoc* committee and helped to prepare the interim report, although it had not submitted any reply to the General Assembly resolution itself. The comments of those governments which did submit replies showed wide divergences of view on the structure and functions of a United Nations fund.

At the 22d session of ECOSOC in the summer of 1956, the interim report of the *ad hoc* committee was considered. A resolution was adopted by unanimous vote urging the governments that had not yet submitted their views to do so and asking the General Assembly to consider what further steps might be taken toward the early establishment of a special United Nations fund.

At the 11th session of the General Assembly in the winter of 1956, most of the less developed countries, anxious to move toward the establishment of a special fund, proposed that the *ad hoc* committee be instructed to draft the charter for such a fund. They were supported in this position by the Netherlands and France. The Soviet bloc, while expressing support for its early establishment, made no formal moves in support of the proposal to draft the charter of a U.N. fund. The United States, United Kingdom, Canada, and other of the more developed countries maintained that it was premature to draft the charter of a fund for which resources were not likely to be available in amounts adequate to enable it to do an effective job. Furthermore, the United States position is that when sufficient progress has been made toward internationally supervised disarmament, the United States stands ready to ask its people to join with others in devoting a portion of the savings from such disarmament to an international multilateral development fund within the framework of the U.N. to assist economic development in underdeveloped countries.

In view of the position taken by the major potential contributing countries, the less developed countries refrained from pressing for action on this matter beyond a point acceptable to the United States and other developed countries. The resolution of the General Assembly on this subject, adopted by unanimous vote, provided for further analysis by the *ad hoc* committee of the recorded views of governments and of the experts who had previously studied the question of the structure and functions of a United Nations fund.

COLLECTION OF INFORMATION ON ECONOMIC AID PROGRAMS

The delegations of Canada and Norway, later joined by Argentina and the Philippines, took the initiative in proposing that the United Nations collect and circulate systematic information on the amounts and kinds of economic aid to the less developed countries currently being made available under bilateral and multilateral aid programs. The United Nations is already undertaking a continuing survey of the flow of private capital for investment in the less developed areas. After discussion of the proposal, the General Assembly adopted a resolution on February 26 requesting the Economic and Social

Council to consider this matter at its 24th session on the basis of such preliminary studies as the Secretary-General might provide.

INTERNATIONAL FINANCE CORPORATION (IFC)

The International Finance Corporation (IFC) came into being on July 20, 1956, when France and Germany completed necessary action for membership. The new corporation started existence with 31 member countries, including the United States, and a capital contributed by the membership of $78,366,000. By December 31, 16 additional countries had taken membership, and members now total 47 countries and the capital is $90,396,000. Total authorized capital is $100,000,000 and membership is open to all members of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Several more countries are expected to join.

IFC is an affiliate of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Its first meeting of directors was held on July 24, and Robert L. Garner, an American businessman and banker and vice-president of the International Bank, was elected president of IFC. The purpose of the Corporation is to encourage the growth of productive private enterprise, especially in the less developed parts of the world. To do this it will invest in productive private undertakings, in association with private investors. In order to revolve its funds, it will sell its investments to private investors whenever feasible.

To date the Corporation has made no investments. It has been occupied with the job of organizing a staff, laying down policies to guide operations, and studying investment opportunities presented to it.

An agreement between the IFC and the United Nations making the IFC a specialized agency was accepted by the Board of Governors of the Corporation January 31, 1957, and by the General Assembly on February 20, 1957.

Technical Assistance

The United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance has continued each year to provide a greater amount of assistance to less developed countries than the previous year. The total of government contributions to the program for 1956 was almost 4 percent greater than for 1955. During the course of the year, 2,346 experts were sent out under the program, 2,128 fellowships were awarded, and equipment valued at $3,302,000 was supplied.

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FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION

The seventh Technical Assistance Conference was held in October 1956. For the calendar year 1957, representatives of 76 governments (exclusive of the United States) have pledged a total of $15,278,635 (as of April 30, 1957). The United States pledged $15,500,000 to the program for the calendar year 1957, subject to the limitation that $14,000,000 will be paid to match the first $14,000,000 pledged by other governments and the balance of $1,500,000 will be contributed at a percentage to be announced later. Total pledges including that of the United States as of April 30, 1957, amount to $30,778,635. This amount represents an increase of $859,205 from 30 other governments over pledges for the calendar year 1956.

In April 1955, the Congress appropriated $6,500,000 as a United States contribution for the first half of the calendar year 1955. In the Mutual Security Appropriation Act for 1956, the Congress appropriated $24,000,000 for the United States contribution to the program for the 18-month period July 1, 1955, through December 31, 1956; $8,500,000 of this amount was the contribution for the last half of the calendar year 1956 program. The United States made its pledge to the 1956 program subject to the limitation that the United States would match other governments' pledges on a 50 percent basis. Other governments pledged a total of $14,419,430 (see Appendix II for list of contributions), thus calling for a United States contribution of the same amount. In the Mutual Security Appropriation Act for 1957, passed July 31, 1956, the Congress appropriated $15,500,000 to be pledged to the calendar year 1957 program with a proviso "that the United States contribution to the 1958 calendar year program shall not exceed 33.33 per centum of the United Nations Program."

At the meeting of the Technical Assistance Committee in the summer of 1956, the representatives of the specialized agencies expressed their general satisfaction at the operation of the country programing procedure which was instituted in 1955. Although the viewpoints of the agencies differed considerably, they all agreed that there should be no basic change in the organization or method of administration of the program. The Technical Assistance Committee and the Economic and Social Council in the summer session in 1956 approved a resolution establishing more adequate procedures for the utilization of currencies which prove difficult to utilize.

The Technical Assistance Committee met again in late November to review the program proposed for 1957, and recommended to the 11th General Assembly allocations to the agencies. The Assembly confirmed allocations as recommended by the Technical Assistance

Committee. Allocations approved for the agencies for 1957 were as follows:

	(*Equivalent in United States dollars*)
United Nations Technical Assistance Administration	$6, 562, 000
International Labor Organization	3, 424, 000
Food and Agriculture Organization	8, 252, 000
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	4, 667, 600
International Civil Aviation Organization	1, 212, 000
World Health Organization	5, 405, 900
International Telecommunication Union	315, 500
World Meteorological Organization	288, 000
Total	$30, 127, 000

The General Assembly also approved a resolution authorizing the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions to cooperate with the Technical Assistance Committee in the review of the administrative and operational services costs of the Expanded Program. The Assembly also recommended to ECOSOC that it take steps to expand the membership of the Technical Assistance Committee by six members.

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAM ACCOMPLISHMENTS

The accomplishments of the program have covered an extremely wide range of activities which have reflected the needs and requests for technical assistance of the recipient countries and territories, of which there were 90 in 1956. On a worldwide basis, the priority activities have been in the fields of agriculture, education, public health, and industrial development, but there also were important activities in such fields as public administration, labor productivity, civil aviation, telecommunications, and meteorology. Examples of what the program is accomplishing may be seen in short summaries of some of the activities in six typical areas of the world.

In Central America the program has assisted in the economic integration program initiated in 1951 by the five Governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua. The Central American Republics, realizing that one of the most effective ways to coordinate measures for economic development was to build strong public administration in their countries, asked the U.N. Technical Assistance Administration (UNTAA) to organize a school of public administration. The Advanced School of Public Administration (ESAPAC) was established in 1954 and has since trained 140 students, including officials who are now high in their respective governments.

Other public administration schools for lower level officials are being created as a consequence of the impulse given by ESAPAC and there has already been an improvement in public administration procedures in many departments of the five republics.

A practical demonstration of work in public administration is the help given by UNTAA in the elaboration of a uniform Central American customs nomenclature. This nomenclature has been accepted by the five countries and three have put it into effect. The UNTAA has followed this with the elaboration of a uniform customs code which is now being adapted to the legislations of all countries.

At the request of the Central American governments, a Technical Research Institute (ICAITI) was inaugurated in Guatemala in January 1956 to help the development of industry in Central America. This institution is governed by a board composed of representatives of the five countries. It is staffed with UNTAA personnel and also with experts provided by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) which is providing an expert on scientific documentation, and the International Labor Organization (ILO) which is providing experts on productivity. One of the Institute's main purposes is to train Central American nationals in the field of research for industry; it has direct contacts with private enterprise, which can utilize its services on a contract basis.

In Iran, where project costs have totaled over $5,000,000 between 1950 and 1956, over 250 experts have been assigned in the 6 years. The largest shares of the program's services have been concentrated on comprehensive agricultural development, followed by development of transport and communications facilities, industry, and education. The largest scale project is concerned with the development of Iran's irrigation system. A Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) irrigation team has been operating for over 4 years and at the end of 1956 consisted of ten experts of seven different nationalities. The principal scheme in this project is that for the development of the Karkheh River Basin in the southwest, which includes some of Iran's most promising agricultural land. With FAO's help, soil surveys of about 2,500,000 acres have been made, mainly with local personnel trained in the field by FAO technicians. Another group of irrigation experts in West Central Iran is working out detailed design studies for irrigation works. Other FAO technicians, working in several areas of Iran, are concentrating on large-scale air mapping before further irrigation work is started. They have trained some 20 Iranians in soil surveying and another 20 soil technologists. In hydrology, some 40 technicians and engineers have been trained, and their work is backed up by a considerable fellowship program.

Because the different regions of Iran are isolated by poor com-

munications, an immediate task has been the creation of air communications within the country and between Iran and neighboring lands. To aid in this job, the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) has had a large civil aviation training program. Since 1951, when the first ICAO experts started work, 455 students have been enrolled in the aviation training school staffed by ICAO experts. Courses are given for radio operators, aircraft mechanics, radio mechanics, teleprinter mechanics, air traffic controllers, meteorological observers, and station inspectors.

Iran's National Cartographic Center was founded in 1953 on the advice of a UNTAA expert. Under him and his successor, the center's staff has trained 230 engineers and technicians, and its progress has been considered one of the government's notable achievements. A National Meteorological Service was created in 1956, with the assistance of an expert from the World Meteorological Organization (WMO) and with some further assistance from FAO and ICAO) experts.

A new Iranian Technological Institute, assisted by UNESCO and UNTAA, is being established and is scheduled to open with 100 students in September 1957. While Iran's important oil industry is one of the industries that will draw upon future graduates, the training of 300 teachers for secondary schools is an immediate goal.

A National Anti-tuberculosis Center—the only one in Iran—was opened in 1956, following preparatory work of a three-member team from the World Health Organization (WHO). In its first two months of operation, 4,000 people were examined and 500 sick people given treatment.

In Yugoslavia the main emphasis has been on industrial training and techniques and agriculture. Because Yugoslavia has its own skilled experts in most fields, it needs outside assistance to help solve quite specific and highly specialized problems. There is a much greater stress on fellowships and training grants, under which Yugoslavs are being sent abroad for practical training, than in bringing in experts. In 1956, for example, 243 fellowships and training grants and 64 expert missions were approved. On the industry side, the efforts of UNTAA and ILO have been complementary. UNTAA has concentrated on the provision of experts to advise on the solution of specific industrial problems and on providing fellowships at the management level. For example, a UNTAA expert on a 9-month assignment last year helped a factory at Sibenik to increase its production of electrodes from 3,000 to 5,000 tons a year. Another expert in metal testing made recommendations on railway rolling stock manufacture that have already improved the safety of Yugoslav railroads. ILO has concentrated on the training of foremen and skilled workers.

More than 600 of these have been sent by ILO to work in Western European factories, 50 percent of those sent in 1955–56 going to West Germany.

Project costs in Pakistan have totaled approximately $5,000,000 for the period 1951–56. Pakistan has been sent 433 experts since 1951, and 374 Pakistanis have received fellowships and training grants. Agriculture is a major field of assistance. Agricultural production in East Pakistan is limited by excessive flooding in summer months and prolonged drought during the winter. An FAO team of 12–16 experts is working with Pakistan on the Ganges Kobadek irrigation scheme which will eventually irrigate two million acres of land. The FAO has also helped Pakistan with irrigation in West Pakistan, where 16 dam sites were investigated in 1955 by an FAO geologist, and more intensive studies made in 1956 at certain more advantageous sites.

To help Pakistani personnel use heavy earth-moving equipment, the ILO has assisted in the establishment and supervision of a training center for operators and mechanics. Over 222 operator-mechanics and overseers have completed the course, and most of the 40 trained personnel now being turned out every 6 months find immediate employment on the earth-moving projects of new irrigation areas in the lower Indus River Basin.

It is estimated that Pakistan needs over 1,200 trained geologists for its mineral development program. UNESCO assistance has led to establishment of departments of geology and mineralogy at the University of the Punjab in Lahore. UNESCO experts have helped build up teaching and research from scratch to the opening in 1956 of a fully recognized university department.

With the assistance of an International Telecommunication Union (ITU) expert, Pakistan is developing an ultramodern network of radio telecommunication stations, especially important in Pakistan since West and East Pakistan are separated by a thousand miles of Indian territory. In addition to intra- and inter-provincial communication, the new facilities will provide a major relay station between Australia and the Far East on the one hand, and Europe on the other, thus providing a valuable source of foreign exchange.

WHO, with equipment supplied by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), has assisted in the establishment of maternal and child health centers in four Pakistan cities. In the Dacca center, 13 health visitors have completed a 3-year course and 53 more are under training. They are assisting in staffing the 22 maternal and child health centers which existed in East Pakistan before Pakistan gained its independence. At the main TB control center for East Pakistan, established with WHO help, 54 X-ray and laboratory technicians have completed training courses.

In Indonesia $3,500,000 has been spent up to the end of 1956 to cover the services of 250 experts and over 150 training grants. The largest scale undertakings have been in civil aviation, primary and secondary education, industrial development, vocational training, and economic planning. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) has helped Indonesia in the operation of GARUDA Airlines, which Indonesia took over from KLM on achieving independence. ICAO's team has helped plan and carry out the nationwide development of airdromes and air routes. At the complete aviation training center near Djakarta, established by Indonesia in collaboration with ICAO, a team of ICAO instructors has trained pilots, maintenance technicians, and other technical personnel. The school is turning out 10 to 15 new pilots each year, and GARUDA is successfully meeting international standards for major airline operations, thus helping promote trade and tourism.

Since Indonesia became independent, spectacular strides have been made in both primary and secondary education. UNESCO's role in helping the government extend primary education to the point where it could be made compulsory has included general planning, teacher training, textbook production, science teaching, audiovisual aids, and library reorganization. The first results of Indonesia's educational program may be measured by the fact that in 1952 there were about 55,000 teachers throughout the country and in 1956, 140,000. In August 1956 compulsory primary education was introduced for the first time in Indonesia, in Central and East Java.

FAO has assisted Indonesia to produce an alternative to cows' and goats' milk, since much of Indonesia does not provide conditions suitable for dairying. As a result of expert guidance given since 1953, a factory was virtually completed in 1956 to make "saridele," a soybean product for use in child feeding by a process successfully used by several other countries. The factory is scheduled to go into large-scale production in early 1957.

In addition to its important work in malaria control, WHO has been engaged in organizing and training at the TB control center in Bandung. WHO has trained medical staffs on the spot, has awarded fellowships for doctors to study TB control methods in other countries, and has started an experiment to work out a simple means of TB control in the home without the need for patients going to hospitals or sanitoriums.

At the time of achieving independence, the new Government of Libya was faced with an enormous building task. Libya possessed no great reserve of productive land, no skilled labor or discovered natural resources, and inadequate civil service machinery. The United Kingdom of Libya had come into being as a result of a decision of the U.N. General Assembly, and the General Assembly recognized

the responsibility of the United Nations to give special attention to the economic and social needs of the country.

Libya has therefore received a substantial amount of technical assistance over the past 6 years. Between 1951 and the end of 1956, nearly 200 experts were sent to Libya. In the same period, Libyan nationals received 120 fellowships, enabling them to study abroad such subjects as public administration, agriculture, forestry, teaching, and medical services. Over 70 U.N. experts are currently serving in Libya.

The biggest single project is the technical and clerical training center in Tripoli, originally established by UNESCO and the Libyan Government and operated since 1953 with the assistance of the ILO. When Libya was established in 1952, it found itself without a sufficient supply of clerical workers, typists, stenographers, and office workers. There was also a dearth of workers in factories and public workshops. About half of the young men at the center are being trained as clerks and the other half as artisans. Boys who had never seen any kind of a machine—hardly anything except a simple hand tool—are now being trained as welders, blacksmiths, metalturners, fitters, and joiners in auto and electrical repair shops and in woodworking shops. On the clerical side, a 2-year course for typists and a 3-year clerical and secretarial course are given, as well as senior bookkeeping courses. There are 307 students attending the center for the 1956–57 session. Latest reports show that 257 of the first group of trainees have found employment after graduation and that another 100 found jobs and left the center before graduation, owing to the extreme urgency of the need for even partly trained personnel.

Industrialization of Underdeveloped Countries

The question of the industrialization of underdeveloped countries has received increasing attention in recent years both in the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council. This attention has grown out of a conviction in most of the underdeveloped countries that they will not make significant advances in their economic development unless they "industrialize" their economies as rapidly as possible.

In order to assist the underdeveloped countries to deal with problems arising in this field and to avoid the pitfalls of overemphasis on industrial development projects, the Economic and Social Council requested the Secretary-General to prepare a program of work consisting of a series of specific case studies in the field of industrialization and increasing productivity in underdeveloped countries. Consideration of the work program proposed by the Secretary-General

at the 21st session of the Council led to extensive discussion of the place of industrialization in general economic development and of ways and means of best developing the industrial sectors of the economy. There was general emphasis by the underdeveloped countries on the importance of industrialization to economic development. In this connection, the U.S. representative speaking in the Economic and Social Council recognized the general validity and significance of the desires of the underdeveloped countries and indicated ways in which the United States was assisting industrial development in such countries through our private enterprise and foreign aid programs.

Consideration of this matter was resumed at the Council's 22d session in the summer of 1956. There was general support of the case studies proposed by the Secretary-General for initial work by the U.N. Secretariat on problems of industrialization. In general, delegations supported the views of the Secretary-General that no new organizational arrangements were necessary in order to initiate this program of work. The importance of coordination between the work of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and work done at national levels in member countries was emphasized and, in this connection, the United States offered to make available to the U.N. Secretariat the results of studies made in this field by the International Cooperation Administration. In conclusion, the Council agreed that the Secretary-General should proceed to carry out the specific work projects contained in the program presented to the Economic and Social Council.

The problem of industrialization of underdeveloped countries was also on the agenda of the 11th session of the General Assembly which, after reviewing the work of the Economic and Social Council, approved the actions taken by the Council in this field during 1956 and called on member governments to give close attention to the conclusions and guidance provided by the studies on industrialization and productivity being made by the U.N. Secretariat.

Studies on Atomic Energy as a Factor in Economic Development

[See Part I, p. 26.]

The United States has taken the lead in the United Nations in the field of peaceful uses of atomic energy. A natural step, therefore, was for the United States to request the Economic and Social Council to consider "studies in atomic energy as a factor in economic development."

In presenting the item and the draft resolution, which was sponsored by 5 other countries and approved unanimously by the Council, the U.S. representative pointed out that nuclear energy is bound to play an increasingly important part in future world economic development. It will, however, benefit countries in all stages of economic development for "in terms of atomic energy we are all under-developed." "The highly industrialized countries," he said, "will benefit because nuclear power will be an essential supplement to available supplies of coal and oil. It will allow for growth and continued rising levels of living. . . . For countries which have not yet completed their industrialization, atomic power will create many new opportunities to short cut the development process."

Rapid progress is being made in nuclear technology, together with rapid progress internationally for sharing its benefits. The Council requested the Secretary-General, in cooperation with the specialized agencies concerned, to prepare "a report on possible applications of atomic energy especially in the fields of power, industry and agriculture." In preparing the report, the Secretary-General is to survey available studies and research presently being undertaken in this field including the materials submitted to the First International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy which was held in the fall of 1955. The Secretary-General, after consultation with his advisory committee and the appropriate specialized agencies, is also to "report on the possibility of devoting as much as possible of the program of the Second International Conference on the Exchange of Technical Information regarding the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, tentatively scheduled to meet October 1, 1957, to the practical applications of nuclear energy in the interest of promoting the economic development of under-developed countries or the desirability of covering a separate conference on the subject."

These reports are to be considered by the Economic and Social Council at its 24th session in July 1957.

On the initiative of the French delegation, the Council also requested a report, for consideration at its 24th session, "on the prospects for the practical utilization of such sources of energy as solar energy, wind energy, tidal energy, goethermic energy, and the thermal energy of the seas."

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

Governments in many parts of the world continued throughout 1956 their deep interest in food and agricultural problems and policies. In

some areas the principal concern has been to increase the productivity of the land, the forests, and the sea so that the maximum benefits might be obtained from all available resources. In other areas the principal concern has been to expand consumption of food and agricultural products through better use of scientific information and through more efficient marketing and distribution systems, both locally and internationally. In still other areas, at least one important concern has been to dispose effectively of so-called "surpluses" in such a way as to meet the need for these products and at the same time not disrupt normal commercial channels of trade in food and agricultural products. And, of course, in many parts of the world several of these problems may actually exist side by side, and governments have had to make continuous efforts to adjust and harmonize their policies in such a way that the most apparent and pressing needs of their peoples might, to some extent, be satisfied.

During 1956 the U.N. ECOSOC and the General Assembly were especially concerned with two specialized food and agricultural problems: first, world food reserves, and second, international cooperation in regard to water resources development.

World Food Reserves

Following general discussion of a Costa Rican proposal for establishment of a "World Food Reserve," the ninth session of the Assembly (in 1954) adopted a resolution which noted that no factual report had been prepared dealing with " . . . the feasibility of establishing a world food reserve within the framework of the United Nations, and (b) the feasibility of such a reserve acting as an institution which could contribute to relieve emergency situations and to counteract excessive price fluctuations." The resolution, therefore, requested FAO (through the U.N. Secretary-General) ". . . to prepare a factual and comprehensive report of what has been done and is being done in this connection. . . ." Accordingly, in 1956 the FAO completed and issued a report covering the various world food proposals made during the past 10-year period and indicating the reasons why they had been rejected by governments as a basis for agreed international action. During its 22d session in the summer of 1956, ECOSOC reviewed this report and passed it on to the Assembly. ECOSOC pointed out that the basic solution to the problems lay in rapid and balanced economic development; that under appropriate circumstances food surpluses can usefully contribute to such development; and that the use of food surpluses for economic development is an aspect of the more general problem of economic development and should be examined as a part of this problem.

The 11th session of the General Assembly convened in November 1956 and problems involving the establishment of "World Food Reserves" as reported by FAO were debated and a resolution unanimously adopted which is largely based on a draft submitted by the U.S. delegation entitled "International Cooperation in Establishment of National Food Reserves." This resolution recognizes as a possible objective the use of food reserves for meeting unforeseeable food shortages and the need of some countries to establish or increase national reserves for this purpose. It recognizes also that countries in the early stages of development are faced with special difficulties with regard to food supplies. The Assembly, therefore, requested the U.N. Secretary-General, in preparing his future report on this subject, to study, in consultation with FAO and with importing and exporting countries, the use of surplus foodstuffs in building up national reserves. These reserves are to be used in accordance with the internationally agreed principles: "to meet emergency situations, to prevent excessive price increases arising as a result of a failure of local food supplies, and to prevent excessive price increases resulting from increased demand due to economic development programs." ECOSOC was requested to make recommendations to the General Assembly on the basis of the Secretary-General's report. Speaking in support of this resolution, the U.S. delegation offered the use of U.S. agricultural surpluses, under the terms of existing or future legislation and with adequate safeguards, toward the building up by recipient countries of national reserves for these purposes.

The Assembly adopted, also, a second resolution entitled "Question of Establishment of a World Food Reserve." This resolution calls for consideration by the Secretary-General and FAO of the desirability of setting up a working group to examine the "practical possibilities of implementing various" proposals which have been reported on in the FAO report. The United States took the view, however, that the possibilities of establishing a world food reserve have been thoroughly discussed and rejected by governments and that no useful purpose could be served at this time in further study of such proposals. The U.S. delegation therefore abstained on this resolution.

International Cooperation With Respect To Water Resource Development

During its 14th session held in 1952, ECOSOC considered a resolution proposed by the U.S. delegation which called to the attention of governments the crucial importance of sound policies in regard to water resources development and recommended that ECOSOC and

the several interested specialized agencies concerned develop measures for consultation and coordination of their respective programs, each of which of necessity had some impact upon the activities of the other agencies. As a result of this first basic resolution, and several subsequent discussions in ECOSOC, the Secretary-General, in cooperation with the interested specialized agencies, has prepared several important studies or surveys on water resources. These point out to governments the nature and the urgency of the world's water resources problems, various kinds of action that governments have taken to meet some of their water resources problems, and suggested measures that might be taken internationally, especially with assistance of the United Nations and specialized agencies, to strengthen the work of national governments.

The latest of the comprehensive reports prepared by the Secretary-General with the specialized agencies was considered by the ECOSOC at its 21st session. This report summarized the progress made to date in promoting interagency coordination in regard to existing United Nations activities relating to water resources development and suggested further specific activities that appeared to require a high priority. The Council adopted a resolution endorsing the progress and activities of the agencies, recommending that high priority be given by the Secretary-General to the specific problem of "remedying deficiencies in hydrology data and assisting in integrated river basin development;" calling to the attention of governments the importance of the demineralization of saline water and utilization of subsoil water and urging exchange of findings of research on this problem. It also asked the Secretary-General in consultation with the specialized agencies to continue his coordinating activities, to make arrangements for further collection, and exchange of certain specific types of data, and after further review and consultation by a panel of experts to report to a later session of ECOSOC on further action which might be taken by the U.N. organizations.

Work of Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO)

Early in the year Dr. P. V. Cardon was forced by ill health to relinquish his responsibilities as Director General of FAO. A special session of the FAO Conference was held in September 1956 to elect a new director. B. R. Sen of India was selected by the Conference to succeed Dr. Cardon. Mr. Sen brings to his new office experience as an administrator of food and agricultural policies at the national level, as a negotiator in United Nations and FAO meetings where he has represented his government, and as a diplomat having served as Am-

bassador to the United States, Mexico, Italy, Yugoslavia, and Japan. Mr. Sen took over his new duties in FAO late in 1956.

FAO issued in 1956 its annual review, *The State of Food and Agriculture*, which was the basis for the FAO Council's appraisal of the world food and agricultural situation. The Council concluded that food production in the world generally is increasing at an average of 2½ percent annually, while population is increasing at an average of 1½ percent annually; that production as a whole in 1955–56 was some 3 percent higher than the previous year; and that the volume of world trade in agricultural products was about 5 percent greater in 1955 than in the previous year. The largest proportionate gains in production, however, were made in North America and Oceania; per capita food production in many of the underdeveloped countries was no greater than in prewar years. Prices of many agricultural commodities in international trade have declined although the increased volume of trade resulted in a 1 percent increase in total value of international trade in 1955. At the same time, however, prices of manufactured goods in world trade rose by about 1 percent in the same period. The Council referred to the FAO "Principles of Surplus Disposal" and recognized that the solution to agricultural surplus disposal does not rest with the "surplus" countries alone, but is international in scope. The FAO Council, also, noted the disparities in most countries between incomes of farmers and fishermen and those of people in other sectors of the economy and emphasized the importance of credit in both agriculture and the fishery industries.

Acting for the FAO Conference, which meets only biennially, the Council considered the influence of the current situation of food and agriculture on the work of the Organization and agreed that FAO should clarify and continue its work in "selective expansion" of production; should provide more information on the demand outlook, long-term trends in international consumption and production trends; and should encourage greater use of technical assistance in getting the principles of "selective expansion" implemented in government planning and development.

By "selective expansion" is meant the shifting of agricultural policies away from general expansion of food production, which characterized the immediate postwar years, and moving instead toward selective expansion of products needed for nutritional purposes in areas of greatest need. To assist countries interested in applying this policy, FAO provides experts at the country's request to review and analyze its agricultural policies with national agricultural authorities and to consider the technical and economic measures which might be required to bring about desired changes. Regional meetings of agricultural officials, held in 1956 in Latin America and in the Far

East, afforded another means for national agricultural officials to acquire useful, significant information about agricultural policies and trends that might affect their own economies.

FAO works toward the objective of expanding consumption through a number of different types of activities, such as the Consultative Sub-committee on Surplus Disposal which gave special attention in 1956 to measures for expansion of consumption of certain commodities now in "surplus": (1) through promotion of research and technical assistance in regard to the processing, marketing, and distribution of food, fish, and forest products; (2) through increased emphasis on exchange of nutritional information and better use of local foods of nutritional value; and (3) through expansion of work in home economics so that the resources of the entire family and of the community may be better utilized.

A discussion of the work of the FAO's Committee on Commodity Problems and its various specialized commodity study groups is contained in this report. [See *supra*, p. 154.]

FAO's work in technical fields is carried forward through the collection and exchange of technical, economic, and statistical information; through meetings and consultations of agricultural administrators and educators; and through technical assistance supplied to individual governments on request. FAO issued during 1956 its annual statistical series on agricultural production and trade, including fisheries and forestry; the Fisheries Abstracts and Bulletin which continue to be of great assistance to the U. S. fishery industry; the publication *Unasylva* carrying up-to-date information on forestry conservation and on forest products; commodity studies; and technical studies in many branches of agriculture, nutrition, and home economics. One of the most significant long-term activities of FAO has been the provision of technical guidance and coordination of a hybrid maize project in Europe, particularly the Mediterranean region. Twenty-eight countries and territories have been cooperating since 1947 in conducting uniform trials of hybrid maize to develop strains suitable for local conditions. This cooperative project was started shortly after World War II with funds from UNRRA and has been carried on with technical guidance from FAO. Seventeen participating countries reported recently production gains valued at almost $68,000,000, while the total cost to FAO has not exceeded $60,000.

Among the meetings convened by FAO were an Agricultural Extension Development Center for Asia and the Far East in Bhopal, India, to assist extension workers in the region and to further regional cooperation which might strengthen the extension services of member governments; a World Eucalyptus Conference held in Rome brought

together authorities from many parts of the world to exchange technical information on methods of introducing and promoting cultivation of this quick-yielding species for domestic and industrial uses, a matter of considerable interest to forestry industries in the United States; the FAO/WHO Nutrition Committee for South and East Asia, held in Tokyo and attended by representatives of 11 countries, reviewed very practical and specific measures for combating malnutrition and was followed by a regional FAO meeting on home economics which considered practical ways in which home economics training might be improved and extended.

FAO is one of the participating agencies in the U.N. Expanded Technical Assistance Program (ETAP) and in 1956 received approximately $8,000,000 from the ETAP funds, the largest single amount received by any participating agency. The activities carried on under ETAP cover all major fields of FAO's work. There are projects in animal improvement, control of pests and diseases, land and water use, forestry and fisheries development, and improvement of agricultural statistical services and agricultural marketing. Nutrition and home economics is a field which, with strong U.S. support, has been given an increasingly higher priority by FAO. Projects in this field are concerned with improvement of nutritional research and education, in food processing and technology, and in home economics. At the end of 1956, FAO had 467 experts in 58 countries, territories, or regional programs.

Among the varied activities carried on by FAO under the U.N. Expanded Technical Assistance Program are (1) the development of nutrition surveys in Colombia as a means of enabling the government to encourage increased food supplies to meet urgent nutritional deficiencies; (2) a 5-months dairy training course in Denmark for participants from India and countries of Southeast Asia; (3) a Near East project on wheat and barley breeding, in which nine countries are cooperating in maintaining wheat and barley nurseries and plot tests with a view to developing and testing strains of these important cereals for wider use throughout the region; and (4) a fisheries training center in Nouméa sponsored jointly with the South Pacific Commission, involving a 14-weeks course on fisheries biology, technology, and economics, with practical demonstrations as well as theoretical background.

International Plant Protection Convention

On January 12, 1956, the International Plant Protection Convention was sent to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification. It had been drawn up under FAO auspices and is now in force in 37

countries. The purpose of this convention is to provide for international cooperation in controlling pests and diseases of plants and plant products and in preventing their introduction and spread across international boundaries. The Secretary of Agriculture and the interested plant protection authorities in the several states strongly support this convention, which should assist American agriculture by encouraging other countries to establish effective national agencies for the control of plant pests and diseases. In 1956 a Plant Protection Convention for Southeast Asia and the Pacific Region came into force as a supplementary agreement to the International Plant Protection Convention. The United States does not intend to become a party to the regional agreement but welcomes this development as a further strengthening of controls against the spread of plant pests and diseases.

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The Transport and Communications Commission

The Transport and Communications Commission, one of the functional commissions of the U.N. Economic and Social Council, did not meet during 1956. It has been its practice to convene in biennial session. On the basis of recommendations adopted at the Commission's meeting in 1955, however, progress continued in several areas. The Committee of Experts on the Transport of Dangerous Goods reconvened in August 1956 to continue its consideration of the comments of governments on its interim report and to continue its work on the drafting of final recommendations on classification, listing, and labeling of dangerous goods. The committee availed itself of the opportunity of the meeting at the same time of an ILO Committee of Experts on Dangerous Substances to meet with the ILO committee to harmonize and to coordinate to as great an extent as possible the work being done by the two committees.

The secretariat during 1956 issued its report on Pollution of the Sea by Oil, an analysis of the present situation with respect to studies and research on pollution, facilities in ports, and on board ships, and instructions and regulations for avoiding pollution.

International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)

The United States is one of the 70 countries which are now members of ICAO. Cambodia, the Federal Republic of Germany, Sudan, and Morocco became members of ICAO during 1956.

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ICAO convened 10 different technical conferences in 1956 to help solve current and impending problems in international air navigation. These conferences included meetings on particular regional problems, meetings of panels of experts, a full-scale regional air navigation meeting, and an air navigation conference. Of particular importance to the United States, as the world's largest international air transport operator, was the special effort made by the International Civil Aviation Organization in 1956 to correct current deficiencies in international air navigation facilities and services and to provide the additional facilities which will be required for turbojet aircraft now under construction. The Special ICAO North Atlantic Regional Air Navigation Meeting developed new procedures so that pilots can make the best possible use of available air navigation facilities and avoid traffic congestion over the North Atlantic Ocean. The Third ICAO Caribbean Regional Air Navigation Meeting brought up to date the plan of air navigation facilities and services, particularly to meet the needs of turboengined aircraft, some of which are already operating in the Caribbean area.

The Third ICAO Air Navigation Conference revised completely ICAO's international standards and recommended practices for airworthiness of aircraft, thus enabling them to keep pace with changes in aircraft design. The ICAO Jet Operations Requirements Panel was organized in 1956 to predict requirements for ground services—airports, meteorological and air traffic services, communications and aids to aid navigation—for jet-propelled transport aircraft.

The 1956 session of the ICAO Assembly decided that the ICAO Council should establish a special panel, composed of a small number of highly qualified persons with a broad knowledge of aviation, to consider what improvements in international air navigation facilities and services will be most necessary during the next 5 years. If countries, either for technical or financial reasons, cannot provide these facilities and services, the task force will discuss possible means of overcoming the difficulties with the governments concerned and then recommend ways in which ICAO might help remedy the situation. The panel's recommendations regarding air navigation in the North Atlantic region were ready by the end of 1956.

The ICAO Joint Financing Conference, held in Geneva in 1956, resulted in two new international agreements on the joint financing of certain air navigation services in (1) Iceland and (2) Greenland and the Faroe Islands. These agreements, which superseded similar agreements concluded in 1948 and 1949, simplify ICAO's administration of the Joint Support projects. The new agreements, which have been signed by 14 countries, also provide for the addition of certain

new air navigation services and improvement of existing services. The United States percentage share of the costs of operation of the two projects will be 42.12 percent for the next 2 years based on the United States percentage share of the North Atlantic civil air traffic.

International Telecommunication Union (ITU)

The eighth plenary Assembly of the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR), Warsaw, August–September 1956, adopted recommendations on a wide range of technical radio problems and established its future work program of questions and studies. Included in the subjects dealt with were: propagation characteristics of radio signals in the higher (VHF and UHF) bands of frequencies, in which television service operates along with maritime radiotelephone service essential to ship movements and safety of life at sea and other services; certain technical equipment and operating standards for international exchange of radio broadcast programs; international monitoring operational characteristics; standard frequency transmissions and time signals; and standards for international color television operation. A series of color television demonstrations for the CCIR was held in the United States, France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom in early 1956 to provide technical information on which to base decisions regarding the adoption of common color television standards. Political and economic conditions in certain countries precluded reaching agreement; nonetheless, certain countries of Europe informally indicated their intention to proceed with the development of agreed color standards. Several other CCIR study groups have met since the last Assembly and their results greatly facilitated the work of the Assembly and were a factor in the decision to reorganize future work plans to save time of engineers and money as well as to focus the studies more concisely toward early solutions to problems. While there may be more frequent study group meetings in the future, the time spent in Assemblies is expected to be shorter. The Assembly also elected a new director for the CCIR, Mr. Metzler, a Swiss national.

Study Groups IV and V of the International Telegraph Consultative Committee (CCIT) met in London from April 17–24, 1956. Recommendations were made on a series of questions relating to various aspects of phototelegraphy and facsimile. The eighth and last plenary Assembly of the CCIT met in Geneva December 8, 1956, to consider the results of the work of all study groups since the 1953 meeting and to issue recommendations thereon.

The Baltic and North Sea Radiotelephone Conference (BNRC) and the Baltic and North Sea Telecommunication Meeting on Rescue Cooperation (BNTM), held in Göteborg, Sweden, September 1–24, 1955, were attended by the United States as observer because of the great importance to this Government of traffic communications in that area. The BNRC was called in order to make arrangements for the better utilization of radiotelephone by ships in the area, particularly for distress and safety purposes. All the 13 countries bordering on, or very near, the Baltic and North Seas participated in a voting capacity and signed the Final Acts of an agreement which is principally concerned with the use of frequencies, procedures, watchkeeping, and introduction of the radiotelephone alarm signal.

The ITU will, in 1957, upon firm approval of the date by the Administrative Council, begin the preparatory work for the Telephone and Telegraph Conference in 1958, which will consider any necessary revision of the Telephone and Telegraph Regulations.

Among the important continuing activities of the Union, the International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB) has just completed the implementation of the International Table of Frequency Allocations for the Standard Frequency and Coastal Telegraph Bands, as well as for those bands allocated to the maritime services and the aeronautical services, while implementation of the Fixed Service Bands is in its last phases. The first phase of the worldwide Broadcasting Plan has been completed and progress is continuing on its other cyclic phases. In addition, the Board is working on its reports and proposals to be placed before the next session of the ITU Administrative Council (April 1957) and the next International Administrative Radio Conference, tentatively scheduled to meet in 1959.

The ITU has continued its cooperation with the United Nations and the specialized agencies, particularly UNESCO, ICAO, and WMO. ITU has become increasingly interested in the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance of the United Nations, due, in the beginning, to the strong urging of the United States representative on the Administrative Council. During 1956, experts worked in Pakistan, Ethiopia, Jordan, and Paraguay, and numerous fellowships and scholarships were awarded. It has been pleasing to note the increasing number of countries which are giving first priority to problems of telecommunications in their requests for assistance. Studies of the interconnection program for the Mediterranean Basin, Middle East, and South Asia have been continued, and, as a result of interest expressed by ECAFE, ITU may expand its work in this field if member governments so request.

World Meteorological Organization (WMO)

During 1956 there was continued emphasis in the work program of the WMO on application of meteorology to aeronautics, agriculture, maritime shipping, business, and industry, on the lines laid down by the Second WMO Congress (1955). Meetings of the following WMO bodies were held in 1956: (1) Regional Association for Europe, to review meteorological facilities, plans, procedures, and services in Europe; (2) Commission for Maritime Meteorology, to review worldwide arrangements for weather service to maritime navigation; (3) WMO Panel on Water Resources Development, to develop a program to meet the needs of the United Nations and other specialized agencies in this field; (4) Eastern Caribbean Hurricane Committee (part of the Regional Association for North and Central America), to review hurricane warning arrangements in the Caribbean area; and (5) various working groups concerned with special studies.

The secretariat continued its work of issuing and maintaining up-to-date technical publications of an international character, including manuals on networks of weather stations, broadcasts of meteorological information to shipping and aviation, and exchanges of weather information between meteorological services throughout the world. A major undertaking was the issuance at the end of the year of the new International Cloud Atlas, representing the culmination of several years' work by WMO directed towards the worldwide standardization of cloud observations.

In addition, much attention was given to the meteorological program of the International Geophysical Year and to further development of WMO participation in the United Nations Program of Technical Assistance. A seminar on hurricanes was held in Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic, under the joint auspices of WMO and the U.N. Technical Assistance Program.

Meetings scheduled for 1957 comprise: (1) meetings of four Commissions: Climatology, Aerology, Instruments and Methods of Observation, and Bibliography and Publications, to review and develop further international cooperation in their respective fields; (2) meetings of the Regional Associations for Africa and South America, to review and develop further meteorological facilities, plans, procedures, and services in these regions; and (3) meetings of the Working Group on Meteorological Telecommunications (Africa) and of the working group on required networks of weather observing stations.

In addition, the WMO plans to continue its collaboration in the U.N. Technical Assistance Program and its activity in support of the

International Geophysical Year, to maintain its normal program of technical publication, and to continue the work of some 50 working groups established to treat various technical problems in meteorology which require international cooperation.

WMO reports received daily from various parts of the world are essential to the preparation of forecasts used in service to industry, agriculture, shipping, aviation, and military operations in the U.S., its territories, and other areas of activity. Also climatic information is exchanged with member nations on a monthly basis. This exchange of information is vital for efficiency and safety of operation of U.S. aircraft and maritime shipping, including military, in all traveled areas of the world. The entire population along the Eastern U.S. seaboard relies for safety of life and property on hurricane warnings produced by the international meteorological network. WMO is the primary medium through which this international cooperation in meteorology is achieved.

Universal Postal Union (UPU)

The United States is one of 20 members of the Executive and Liaison Committee of the Universal Postal Union. This committee has the responsibility of supervising the activities of the Union during the interim between the Congresses which convene once every 5 years. The committee met once in 1956 at Bern, Switzerland, from April 30 to May 11. Satisfactory cooperation and coordination in areas of mutual interest exists between the Universal Postal Union and the United Nations and with the other specialized agencies. Three of the other specialized agencies, ICAO, UNESCO, and WHO, had observers in attendance at the Bern meeting of the Executive and Liaison Committee.

As a member of several subcommittees of the Executive and Liaison Committee, the United States has continued to make important contributions to the Universal Postal Union. It cooperated in the further study of such problems as: (1) variations in basic air mail transportation rates; (2) new and simplified methods for accounting and payments for transportation of air mail; and (3) a proposal for the revision of the UPU Convention to eliminate the necessity of ratification of its basic provisions every 5 years.

The United States has cooperated to the fullest extent in the Universal Postal Union's programs of technical assistance, having had many trainees from other countries come here to study our postal service.

The Universal Postal Union, one of the largest and oldest of the specialized agencies now having 96 members and having been founded

in 1874, stands out as a symbol of what an international organization can accomplish when it has mutually beneficial objectives.

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO)

The convention providing for the establishment of the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) has now been accepted by 19 countries, or 2 fewer than the 21 acceptances required to bring it into force. It is reported that a number of other countries are in the process of accepting the convention. The convention was drawn up by the 1948 U.N. Maritime Conference at Geneva, and the United States deposited its instrument of ratification on August 17, 1950. The organization, when it comes into force, will assume responsibility for a number of important matters in the field of international shipping, such as the 1948 Convention on Safety of Life at Sea, rules for the prevention of collisions, and the 1954 Convention for the Prevention of Pollution of the Sea by Oil.

EMERGENCY RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees was established on January 1, 1951, by the fourth General Assembly. The High Commissioner has as his basic function the provision of legal and political protection to those refugees falling under his mandate. In general, his mandate covers refugees who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, or political opinion, are outside the country of their nationality and are unable or unwilling, owing to such fear, to avail themselves of the protection of that country. In extending this protection he works in close cooperation with individual governments and approved private organizations for the purpose of facilitating emigration to other countries and assimilation within the economy of the country of residence. The High Commissioner administers UNREF under the guidance of an Executive Committee composed of 20 nations of the free world. The United States is a member of this committee.

The question of the Chinese refugees, numbering some 700,000, who have escaped from mainland China to Hong Kong, was considered by the Executive Committee of the U.N. Refugee Fund (UNREF) held

in Geneva, January 1957. The committee suggested that the problem of these refugees be taken up by the 12th General Assembly at the time it was considering the future program of the High Commissioner's office. The Palestinian refugees are cared for by a separate program, the U.N. Relief and Works Agency. [See *infra*, p. 192, and Part I, p. 73.]

PERMANENT SOLUTIONS

The United Nations Refugee Fund (UNREF) was established in 1954 by the ninth General Assembly in order to promote permanent solutions to the problem of the unassimilated refugees within the mandate of the High Commissioner. UNREF has a 4-year program calling for total governmental contributions on a voluntary basis of $16,000,000. It is scheduled at present to terminate with the expiration of the present mandate of the High Commissioner on December 31, 1958.

UNREF's projects are divided into four broad categories: permanent solutions by integration into local economies; placement of difficult cases (the sick, disabled, or aged) in institutions; the placement of refugees of European origin from mainland China in other countries; and emergency aid for the most needy cases. One of the basic assumptions, and one which has been justified, was that a vigorous program on the part of the High Commissioner would stimulate governments, intergovernmental organizations, and voluntary agencies to make greater efforts to effect the same types of solutions. A matter which caused some concern during 1956 was the increased emphasis that the U.S.S.R. and satellite governments placed on repatriation. To date 6,500 U.S.S.R. and satellite citizens have returned to their home countries. This trend can be countered by UNREF's success in permanently establishing a portion of the existing refugee population within the economies of the free world, thus giving to the others an assurance that their welfare is of concern to the free world.

UNREF cooperates closely with the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, especially in the project for moving European refugees out of mainland China. While preserving their independence of action, administration, and integrity of operations, the two organizations consult through a coordinating committee to avoid duplication or overlapping of activities.

Implementation of the UNREF program began in the latter part of 1955. From the beginning of the program until the close of 1956, 13,331 permanent solutions had been effected, 4,561 difficult cases had been placed in institutions, and 8,560 refugees had been given

emergency aid. Total governmental contributions received for use in 1955 and 1956 amounted to $6,267,696.

A target allocation of $8,000,000 has been made for the 1957 plan of operations, which provides for 11,234 permanent solutions, placement of 898 difficult cases, and emergency assistance to 5,291 others, a total of 18,053 beneficiaries. As many of the projects that have been in the preparatory or initial stages for the past year and a half are now nearing completion, an increase in the rate of final integration will be reflected; however, even with full implementation of the UNREF target programs, it is likely that there will still remain in Europe after 1958 a considerable body (possibly 200,000 or more) of unassimilated refugees in need of aid, not including any residual Hungarian group.

One of the primary goals of UNREF is the closure of the refugee camps. These camps form an economic, social, and political liability for the countries in which they are located. Many of the refugees in these camps have been in them for 10 years and have become so accustomed to camp life that intensive individual counseling has been found necessary to overcome their reluctance to assume the responsibilities of normal life. In spite of the difficult nature of the problem, progress was being made during the first three-quarters of the year; however, the heavy influx of refugees from Hungary at the end of the year temporarily halted the camp closure program.

Under the permanent solutions category, the heaviest emphasis was placed on housing, especially in Austria and Germany. Many of the other projects, such as the establishment of refugees in trades and crafts, or in agriculture, also included provision of housing, land, and equipment. Other permanent solutions projects were vocational training, assistance to students, employment counseling and placement, and language training. The permanent solutions projects, whenever possible, are implemented by making low-cost, long-term credit available to the refugee through normal loaning channels, the UNREF contribution being used to supplement the refugees' resources which are limited, if they exist at all.

The United States has taken great interest in this humanitarian program and has contributed $3,100,000 thus far, on the basis of one-third of the contributions from all governments.

INTERNATIONAL PROTECTION

The Office of the High Commissioner makes representations to the competent authorities in countries where refugees are concentrated or where refugees might migrate on such matters as the determination of the status of refugees, regularization of residence, expulsion,

the right to work, public relief and social security, travel documents, and authentication of documentation. The High Commissioner also aids and protects refugees through the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of July 28, 1951, article 35 of which makes him jointly responsible with the ratifying states for its application. The convention deals with the minimum rights and privileges of refugees and provides for freedom from discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, or country of origin. Twenty nations have ratified this convention. The United States took an active part in drafting the convention but does not plan to sign it, since existing law and practice in the United States provide most of the benefits accorded by the convention to refugees legally admitted to this country for permanent residence.

HUNGARIAN REFUGEES

In early November, with the forceful suppression of the Hungarian people's fight for freedom, there began the flight of Hungarians from their oppressors. Until the end of 1956 this was almost exclusively directed toward the Austrian border. To meet the problem thus created, the U.N. Secretary-General early designated the High Commissioner both to render assistance to the refugees and to use his office in furthering coordination on behalf of the refugees by governments, intergovernmental agencies, and nongovernmental organizations. On November 21, 1956, the General Assembly passed a resolution which noted with appreciation the action taken by the Secretary-General, requested that the efforts of the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner for Refugees be continued, and urged governments and nongovernmental organizations to make additional contributions and to coordinate their aid programs in consultation with the Office of the High Commissioner.

A joint appeal by the Secretary-General and the High Commissioner was issued on November 29, 1957, for $10,000,000 in addition to what had already been given and for governments to offer asylum and resettlement opportunities. By the time the rate of refugee influx had reached its peak, $6,900,000 had been contributed to the High Commissioner, including $5,000,000 from the United States. A large part of this money was used to help the League of Red Cross Societies and the Austrian Government defray the cost of maintaining their camps and other facilities. The High Commissioner also worked most actively with governments in Western Europe in the promotion of offers of asylum and resettlement opportunities. Early estimates, anticipating more rigid Hungarian border controls than those initially established, conceived of the refugee problem in terms of

20,000 to 25,000 persons. In actuality, as of March 13, 1957, over 170,000 persons had fled Hungary into Austria and over 126,000 had been moved onward into other countries in Western Europe and overseas. The United States accepted 6,356 under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 and 23,065 under the parole provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act.

The High Commissioner's analysis of the needs of the Hungarian refugee group was presented for discussion at the fourth session of the UNREF Executive Committee in January 1957. The committee decided that a further study should be made of the long-term needs of the Hungarian refugees in Austria and that this study should be the basis of recommendations to be submitted at the June 1957 session.

Hungarian Relief

[See Part I, p. 89ff.]

In response to the situation which arose in Hungary, the 11th General Assembly adopted a series of resolutions, four of which dealt directly with questions pertaining to relief within Hungary. The first of these requested the Secretary-General, in consultation with the heads of the appropriate specialized agencies, to inquire into and present a report of the needs of the Hungarian people for food, medicine, and other supplies. The subsequent resolutions of November 10, 1956, called upon the Hungarian authorities to facilitate, and the U.S.S.R. not to interfere with, the receipt and distribution of food and medical supplies and to cooperate fully with the United Nations and its specialized agencies, as well as with other international organizations such as the International Red Cross to provide humanitarian assistance to the people of Hungary. The resolutions further called for the undertaking on a large scale of immediate aid for the affected territories by furnishing medical supplies, foodstuffs, and clothes.

Reacting to the courage and sacrifices of the Hungarian people in their determination to secure freedom and in an effort to alleviate the physical hardship and privations to which they were then exposed, an allocation of $20,000,000 was made on November 2, 1956, from funds appropriated by the Congress for emergency use. In direct response to the United Nations appeal, the sum of $5,000,000 was furnished in cash to the Secretary-General for use in connection with Hungarian refugees. In addition, U.S. Government contributions in the form of surplus foods, other commodities, blankets, etc., were made directly to the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) which was acting on behalf of the United Nations in Hun-

gary. Furthermore, contributions were made directly to the Austrian Government both in cash and in kind.

On December 4, 1956, the United Nations, by an exchange of letters, reached an understanding with the International Committee of the Red Cross whereby the ICRC agreed, in addition to its other activities which were already under way within the country, to act as the sole agent within Hungary for the distribution of such U.N. funds and supplies as were made available for relief within that country. The ICRC supplied experienced technicians for supervision and control of the program in Hungary which was administered by a Hungarian Red Cross Society especially reconstituted for this purpose. Principal aid was in the form of food packages, blankets, and clothing. Target beneficiaries were individuals and dependents who suffered personal injury or property damage as a consequence of the revolt and were in need of assistance.

Pursuant to the resolutions of the General Assembly, a mission headed by the United Nations Under Secretary for Economic and Social Affairs made a visit to Hungary during the period January 4–7, 1957, in order to survey the needs of the Hungarian people for food, medicines, and other relief supplies. The mission submitted a report analyzing the nature and amount of aid required within the country for relief purposes. This report noted danger of physical privation for the Hungarian people due to dislocations deriving from a number of causes, but it tended to confirm the ICRC estimate that the need for emergency assistance deriving from the October events would not extend beyond mid-1957.

Korean Reconstruction

In his most recent report, the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA), General Coulter (USA ret.), noted that the preceding year was for UNKRA one of continuing progress—a year in which the increasing total of completed projects provided important new facilities and assistance to all areas of the Republic of Korea. In 1956 the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) began its phasing-out operations; the emergency period of reconstruction from war devastation was over. Further assistance to Korea will take the form of technical assistance grants, International Bank loans, or bilateral arrangements. Korea has been brought to the point where special assistance is no longer deemed necessary.

By June 30, 1956, UNKRA had provided either materials or technical assistance for projects located at 4,235 sites. Activities had been concluded at 3,249 locations; over 1,100 of these were completed during

the previous 12-month period. At the end of this period, the Agency's projects in the fields of forestry, irrigation, power, transport, communications, and assistance to voluntary agencies had all been actually or virtually completed.

As of June 30, 1956, the total funds which had been available to UNKRA amounted to $146,000,000, including voluntary contributions of $139,900,000 from governments, as well as interest and miscellaneous income totaling $6,100,000. Of this amount, $139,200,000 had been committed in implementation of the program. Actual arrivals of aid goods in Korea since the inception of the program totaled $74,800,000, while technical assistance provided as of June 30, 1956, amounted to $12,700,000. UNKRA continued its program into 1957 with an estimated $7,269,000.

The completion of over 700 additional classrooms in 1956 highlighted UNKRA's efforts to restore and expand educational facilities in the Republic of Korea. By 1956 more than 2,700 classrooms had been completed of the total of 3,800 planned in UNKRA's $5,500,000 classroom construction and repair program. The UNKRA irrigation program which had been carried out jointly with the Korean Government since 1953 was successfully concluded in June 1956. The work done has brought approximately 95,000 acres of paddy land under irrigation and will result in an increase in the annual rice production of about 30,000 metric tons. Work in restoring the war-damaged substations and transmission and generating facilities in South Korea to the point where they will meet a minimum power requirement of 120,000 kilowatts was virtually completed. These restored power facilities, rehabilitated at an expenditure by UNKRA of almost $3,000,000, will have a continuing important effect upon the Korean economy. The results of UNKRA assistance to the coal mining industry became even more evident during the first half of 1956 when the output of the government-owned Dai Han Coal Corporation, the Republic of Korea's principal producer, increased to a yearly rate of almost 1,300,000 metric tons, about a 25 percent increase over production in 1955.

The United States continued in 1956 to carry out its own very large bilateral program of economic and technical assistance to the Republic of Korea which is closely coordinated in Korea with the UNKRA program through an American official, William E. Warne, who is the United Nations Command Economic Coordinator.

The 11th General Assembly, on December 7, 1956, adopted a resolution commending the Agent General of UNKRA for the progress he had made in carrying out the desire expressed by the General Assembly that the approved programs of the Agency be expeditiously implemented to the maximum extent possible within available funds. The

United States cosponsored this resolution with the delegations of Australia, Belgium, Canada, and the United Kingdom. In his statement the U.S. representative, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, said, "In years to come, the Agency will continue to stand as a symbol not only in Korea, but throughout the world of what cooperative action among nations has done to make life a little better, a little less burdensome for men, women and children who were called upon to endure far more than human beings should."

Our contribution is approximately 66.4 percent of the total of $139,900,000 that UNKRA had received from governments by June 30, 1956. It is expected that UNKRA will carry forward its work to completion within the funds now available to the Agency.

U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA)

[See Part I, p. 73]

In 1949 the United Nations General Assembly established the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) to deal with the specific problem of Arab refugees who left Palestine upon the establishment of Israel. Since that time the permanent integration of the refugees into any of the Middle Eastern areas has been inhibited by continuing political tensions in the region. Actually, by reason of natural increases, the dimensions of the Arab refugee problem have continuously expanded and as of June 30, 1956, the Director of UNRWA reported 922,000 men, women, and children as falling within the Agency's jurisdiction. Of these some 200,000 were given temporary asylum in the Gaza Strip, 500,000 in Jordan, and the rest elsewhere in Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt.

In dealing with refugees the Agency's functions are two-fold. First, UNRWA provides relief in the form of shelter, clothing, medical care, and welfare services at a current per capita rate of $27 per annum. Second, UNRWA is responsible for the rehabilitation of the Arab refugees. The contemplated program of rehabilitation, which would provide a permanent economic solution for substantial numbers of refugees, involved major projects such as irrigation schemes for the Jordan Valley and Sinai. Thus far the Agency and the host government have failed to reach agreement on these projects and have failed to resolve the problem of resettlement or compensation. As a consequence, by tacit agreement, rehabilitation has been limited to a program of education and vocational training, to the extension of small individual loans and grants, and to a few minor agricultural projects. Contributions to UNRWA in support of its relief and

rehabilitation efforts are reported in appendix II. The U.S. contribution for 1956 was $16,700,000.

The UNRWA report was first considered by the Special Political Committee of the 11th session of the General Assembly from February 11–23, 1957. The U.S. representative in the Special Political Committee, Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, in support of a resolution sponsored by the United States jointly with Argentina, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United Kingdom, noted the lack of progress in meeting the Arab refugee problem, the deterioration of relations between UNRWA and some of the host countries, the slowness in obtaining contributions and the inequity in pledging of contributions which has led to an undue portion of the burden being carried by a limited number of nations. She underscored the urgent need for permanent solutions by pointing out that the Agency's mandate had only 3 years to run and urging orderly planning for the termination of the Agency's activities.

The resolution as finally adopted by the Special Political Committee directed the Agency to pursue its programs for the relief and rehabilitation of refugees subject to the financial limitations imposed by the size of the contributions; requested the host governments to cooperate fully with the Agency; requested the governments of the area to plan and carry out projects capable of supporting substantial numbers of refugees; decided to retain the rehabilitation fund and authorized the distribution of available funds to individual host governments for general economic development projects subject to their agreement to assume definite financial responsibility for a number of refugees commensurate with the cost of project; requested the Agency to continue its consultation with the United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine; noted with approval the action of the Agency in continuing to carry out its program for the refugees in the Gaza Strip; and urged all governments to increase their contributions. A clause calling upon the Director to consult with the host governments regarding specific proposals for future implementation of the various responsibilities currently charged to the Agency was not accepted. The jointly sponsored resolution was adopted in the committee with 66 votes in favor, none against, and one abstention and subsequently in the plenary session of the General Assembly by a vote of 68 in favor, none against, and one abstaining.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO)

The International Labor Organization (ILO), which was established in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles, has as its broad objective

the promotion of social justice through improving the conditions of labor and levels of living in its member countries. It is unique as a specialized agency in that its composition is tripartite. Representatives of labor and management as well as government participate in directing the ILO's activities. For some time ILO pursued its goals mainly through devising international conventions, codes of labor standards, and other instruments; but in recent years it has directed an increasing share of its efforts toward practical programs, emphasizing social adjustments to technological changes. These practical programs include technical assistance and vocational training and continue to stress labor-management relations activities.

The question of the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency was considered by the Governing Body during 1956. The ILO participated in consultations preliminary to the establishment of the Agency in order to define the ILO sphere of interest in the industrial application of atomic energy and to avoid possible duplication of international effort.

Training programs are now recognized as one of the main contributions that the ILO can make in the underdeveloped countries for many years to come. The present activity ranges from assisting governments to reorganize their national vocational training systems to the actual instruction of apprentices in specific trades. Manpower utilization, including vocational training, now accounts for about one-half of the ILO's operational activities. Africa came increasingly into this scene in 1956 with a sizable program in Libya and beginning efforts in Somalia, Liberia, and the British, French, and Belgian territories. A training center has been set up in Burma to teach the use and maintenance of inland water transport equipment. In Pakistan ILO experts assisted in the establishment of a tractor and heavy earth-moving equipment training center. In Haiti the national training center was reorganized, and instruction was being given in seven basic trades. Training in the administration of labor regulation was given at centers in Istanbul and Mexico City.

The importance of manpower information, with particular emphasis on underdeveloped countries, has been clearly recognized, and projects to meet needs in this field were under way or envisaged in India, Pakistan, Colombia, Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Turkey, and Viet-Nam. In Chile and Uruguay ILO work on placement programs was coordinated with the activities of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.

As a part of the increased emphasis on practical programs, the ILO convened a meeting of experts in July 1956 to review the basic problems and present trends in relations between employers and

workers, to examine possible action by the ILO in this field, and to make suggestions as to how such action should be developed. Using the experts' report as a basis, the ILO is now developing a labor-management relations program which will be presented to its Governing Body for approval early next year.

The report of the Committee on Freedom of Employers' and Workers' Organizations, which was formed in 1955 to gather all relevant facts concerning the extent of freedom of employers' and workers' organizations from government domination and control in each member country, was considered at the November 1956 session of the Governing Body. It was not found possible to take decisive action concerning Communist employer and worker representatives that would not also involve other countries whose employer and worker organizations are not wholly free from government control. A request was made to the Director General to report on the possibility of establishing continuing machinery to establish the facts relating to freedom of association in member states.

ILO took a further step in 1956 to combat the evil of forced labor. At the 39th annual conference, the majority of the members reached preliminary agreement on the form and principles to be embodied in an international instrument outlawing forced labor. Final action on the international instrument will be taken at the 1957 conference.

The 1957 conference also will consider the form and principles to be expressed in an ILO instrument on discrimination in the field of employment and occupation. The ILO began its studies in this field several years ago at the suggestion of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.

The ILO continued its study of the question of reduction of hours of work; however, members reached no general agreement concerning the lines of future action to be taken.

In the field of trade union rights and freedom of association, the ILO examined 25 complaints against member states. No complaints against the United States were taken up in 1956. A complaint against the Polish Government for alleged violation of trade union rights, with particular reference to the events in Poznán in June 1956, was examined along with the detailed reply of the Polish Government. A complaint against the Soviet Union was referred to the Soviet authorities for reply. The ILO Governing Body passed a resolution concerning the plight of Hungarian workers in November 1956. Among other things, it called upon the Hungarian authorities to observe the principles of trade union rights and freedom of association. The Hungarian regime has not replied. ILO also offered to collaborate with the United Nations in its efforts to obtain human rights and freedom for the Hungarian people.

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The 1956 International Labor Conference adopted recommendations concerning welfare facilities for workers and concerning vocational training in agriculture. The conference considered the subjects of forced labor, weekly rest in commerce and offices, and living and working conditions of indigenous populations in independent countries with a view toward drawing up standards on these subjects at the next conference.

The membership of the ILO was increased during the year to 77 with the addition of Morocco, Rumania, Spain, Sudan, and Tunisia.

WORLD SOCIAL SITUATION

Social Welfare

Policy guidance for U.N. social welfare activities is provided by the Economic and Social Council and its advisory Social Commission. The activities themselves are carried out primarily by the U.N. Secretariat at headquarters and in the field. Assistance to governments of countries where social welfare programs are less developed continues to be the emphasis in this U.N. program. Exchange of information on new social welfare programs and methods also is facilitated between countries in all stages of development. Included in this broad program of social welfare are technical services needed in maintenance of family levels of living, community development programs, advisory social welfare services, training of personnel, and surveys and progress reports on world social conditions.

As economic development in the countries has gained increasing momentum, governments have come to recognize more clearly the importance of the social aspects of economic change. Requests for assistance in developing social welfare services have therefore increased. Additional funds voted by the U.N. General Assembly last year made it possible to meet more of these requests. To meet the increased workload in the field, the General Assembly approved the establishment of three regional social affairs units to assist governments in establishing and improving their social welfare programs.

STANDARDS AND LEVELS OF LIVING: SOCIAL INSURANCE AND SOCIAL SERVICES

The Economic and Social Council, in response to a recommendation of the Social Commission, authorized an expert group to consider

methods and guiding principles for the establishment of concerted national programs aimed at the maintenance and improvement of family levels of living through social security and related social services for family and child welfare, special attention being given to conditions in the underdeveloped countries. A group of experts in social welfare administration representing the various geographical regions of the world met at Geneva in October and developed a technical document for the consideration at the 1957 session of the Social Commission. The report will identify for the less developed countries the basic considerations in planning programs in the social field. It is the first time the United Nations has sponsored an expert group in the broad field of social services and social insurance, and it is believed the results of this report will prove a useful source of guidance on program development, priorities, coordination, and administration.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development, the term used to describe the technique many governments have adopted to reach their village people and to make more effective use of local initiative and energy, has continued to receive considerable attention in the technical assistance programs. Following the recommendations of the Social Commission and the Economic and Social Council, the United Nations has developed technical materials in this field for the use of countries, has provided experts to assist in initiating community development programs, and has made available training opportunities in addition to continuing evaluative studies of community organization in collaboration with the specialized agencies concerned—the Food and Agriculture Organization, the International Labor Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the World Health Organization.

The United Nations sponsors regional meetings in the form of study tours for government officials interested in improving their community development programs. A 6-week tour by Afghan officials of community development work in Ceylon and India was completed early in 1956. Evaluative reports on similar study tours made by officials from Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Yemen to Burma, India, and Pakistan were also completed. A United Nations-sponsored seminar on community development was held in Jordan for the Arab States in May 1956. A joint United Nations-specialized agency survey mission to Africa was undertaken. Collection of materials from training institutions on the training of community leaders was continued and a study kit completed for the use of many interested countries.

A seminar on urbanization held from August 8–18, 1956, in Bangkok was attended by 50 specialists from 16 countries and territories in the ECAFE region as well as by representatives of specialized agencies and nongovernmental organizations. Consideration was given at this seminar to the need for accurate information on urban living and working conditions, vocational training, extension of employment services, and provision of more and better housing.

TRAINING OF WELFARE PERSONNEL

In response to the advice of the Social Commission and its parent body, the Economic and Social Council, the United Nations continued in 1956 to give special attention to ways of increasing the numbers of trained social workers in all parts of the world. A social work training meeting sponsored by the United Nations was held in Munich in July 1956 in advance of the main session of the International Conference of Social Work. Nineteen social welfare training experts selected from all geographical regions of the world were brought together to give attention to the basic essentials and content for social welfare education. The preliminary report of the expert group was shared with social workers from 56 countries attending the International Conference of Social Work which was also held in Munich in August 1956. The expert group's work is of a preliminary nature and is a forerunner to the next international survey of welfare training made every 4 years by the United Nations to assist countries to establish and make most efficient their facilities for training welfare personnel.

ADVISORY SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

The Advisory Social Welfare Services, the U.N. technical assistance program in the welfare field, has continued to provide governments with experts and with fellowships in the fields of social welfare administration, including family and child welfare, community organization, services for the handicapped, improvement of housing conditions, prevention and treatment of crime, and prevention of juvenile delinquency. This program, which received an increase in funds from the General Assembly in 1955, was able thereby to meet requests from more governments in 1956. As illustrations, technical advice was provided to the Thailand Department of Public Welfare on organization and administration of social welfare programs, including personnel, finance, and research and training facilities. Assistance was given to Brazil and Uruguay in the fields of rehabilitation and

social work training. Similar service was initiated in Guatemala with particular reference to the National Council of Social Services and the organization of the general social welfare program in that country. Technical assistance was provided in Afghanistan in developing a social welfare program for women and youth within the framework of the community development program in that country. The number of U.N. fellows studying in the various host countries has increased. The United States, one of the most popular host countries in the social welfare field, put special emphasis on developing training programs adapted to the needs of the increasing number of U.N. fellows from the less developed areas. The funds for advisory social welfare services, also, are used for regional meetings on social questions and for necessary technical materials in connection with training and consultation to governments.

PREVENTION OF CRIME AND TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

The United Nations European Consultative Group on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders held its third meeting in Geneva from August 13 to August 23, 1956. The conference, attended by experts from 20 nations, including an observer from the United States and from a number of international organizations, gave intensive consideration to the treatment of habitual and abnormal offenders and the treatment of young adult offenders. The results of the conference's work on these subjects will be published and given worldwide distribution for the assistance of governments in the development of more effective programs of prevention and treatment.

Narcotic Drug Control

Progress in international narcotics control continued during 1956 through machinery that had been established under the several international agreements. The most recent of these, the Protocol of 1948 which entered into force on December 1, 1949, and the Protocol of 1953 which is not yet in force, received additional ratifications or accessions during the year. There are now 49 parties to the Protocol of 1948 which was designed primarily to extend the narcotics control system to synthetic drugs. The number of governments ratifying or acceding to the Protocol of 1953 for Limiting and Regulating the Cultivation of the Poppy Plant, the Production of, International and Wholesale Trade in, and Use of Opium has now increased to 22, three less than the number needed to bring the agreement into effect. Although the 22 that have ratified include three required manufacturing

countries, they include only one of the three required producing states. The United States deposited its ratification of this protocol on February 18, 1955, and is hopeful that the necessary number of other states will act so that the protocol may enter into force in the near future. It will further the attainment of a long standing U.S. objective, namely, limiting the use of opium to medicinal and scientific purposes.

The Commission on Narcotic Drugs, which advises the Economic and Social Council on narcotics control policies, met in its 11th session at Geneva, Switzerland, from April 20 to May 18, 1956. It noted that during the preceding year additional states, in accordance with the recommendation of the World Health Organization, had prohibited the manufacture, import, export, and use of heroin. The Commission considered and proposed certain changes in several provisions of the second draft of the Single Convention designed to bring together in one instrument the essential provisions of the nine existing international agreements which now govern the international control of narcotic drugs. With a view to speeding up action on the Single Convention, the Commission recommended that the Commission meet a week earlier in 1957 and devote at least 2 weeks of its 1957 session to the Single Convention. The Commission also studied certain proposals which relate to the handling of narcotic drugs in the mails. These will be considered at the quinquennial Congress of the Universal Postal Union which will meet in 1957 to revise the postal convention.

In connection with its review of reports concerning the illicit traffic in narcotics, the Commission found that opium and its derivatives, morphine and heroin, continued to be the most important drugs seized in the international traffic, and that the heaviest traffic continued to be centered in the Far East. It considered the traffic in the Middle East to be a serious problem almost approaching that of the Far East and decided to continue to give this problem attention at its next session, inviting certain states from that area to be represented by observers.

The Commission noted that five new synthetic drugs and their salts had been placed under international control during the year and that the third World Health Organization study on synthetic substances had appeared. It again emphasized the need for governments to give special attention to the development of new synthetic drugs because of their possible morphine-like effects. In accordance with the practice of past years, the Commission also discussed a number of miscellaneous problems arising in the field of narcotics control and made recommendations to the Economic and Social Council as to means of dealing with several of them.

One of the most significant decisions taken by the Commission at its 11th session was a resolution recommending that existing arrangements for technical assistance be utilized to provide advisory services

of experts, fellowships, seminars, and laboratory services in connection with the determination of the sources of drugs seized in the illicit traffic. Apart from the general application of this recommendation, it was of particular importance at the time because of the action taken by Iran in prohibiting the use and cultivation of opium. In order to carry out this commendable and ambitious program, the representative of Iran indicated to the Commission that his Government would need assistance to suppress the production of opium as well as its use. The Commission recommended that a special fund be set up in the program of technical assistance for aid to Iran.

The Economic and Social Council at its meeting in the summer of 1956 took two decisions relating to narcotics which are worthy of note. One was to endorse the recommendation of the Narcotics Commission with respect to technical assistance for Iran. The other decision related to the request by Afghanistan to be included among the countries permitted to export opium. Under the terms of the Protocol of 1953 the parties agree to import opium only from those six countries listed in the protocol. Afghanistan, which has been a producer of opium, was not included in the list at the time the protocol was concluded. The Commission on Naroctic Drugs, after considering the request by Afghanistan, took the view that provision might be made in the above-mentioned Single Convention, still being drafted, to meet Afghanistan's request. In view of the concern expressed over the apparent existing over-production of opium to meet the medicinal and scientific needs of the world, and taking note of the possible effect on Iran's program to suppress the cultivation of opium if a neighboring country were added to the list of recognized producers, the Economic and Social Council requested the Narcotics Commission to restudy the question raised by Afghanistan.

World Health Organization (WHO)

In pursuance of the basic objective for which the World Health Organization was established, "The attainment by all peoples of the highest possible level of health," member countries in 1956 continued to pool health resources through various WHO programs—technical assistance to country and intercountry health programs; training of personnel and provision of fellowships; mobilization and exchange of health knowledge through conferences, expert committees, study groups, exchange of personnel, and publications; worldwide reporting on diseases and vital statistics; and provision of more uniform international standards for quarantine, classification of diseases, and specifications and names of pharmaceuticals.

In the Expanded Technical Assistance Program, WHO-assisted projects engaged an international field staff and consultants totaling 435 persons. During the year WHO provided technical assistance for about 450 country and regional projects. About 100 of these projects were in the fields of maternal and child health, nursing, and nutrition. On Taiwan, for example, a WHO maternal and child health team in cooperation with the Government of the Republic of China had established a demonstration and training center in 1952. By 1956 the staffs of some 100 health centers in all parts of Taiwan had been trained at that demonstration center.

WHO assistance in many cases helps the establishment of regional training centers. In 1953 WHO began assistance to the University of Alexandria in Egypt to develop a school of nursing for the Middle East region. With the help of faculty members assigned by WHO, the school is now able to give the basic 4-year course in general and preventive nursing.

WHO assisted about 80 projects in public health administration in 1956, aiming at developing health services at all levels and, in particular, balanced and adequately staffed rural health programs. The meaning of this is illustrated by a project in rural health services in Panama. With assistance from WHO personnel, the Government of Panama established a project in 1952 to organize, develop, and coordinate public health activities in rural communities, develop effective methods of public health administration, and establish public health training facilities in a selected rural health center. The reorganization of the rural health services is now more than half completed, and by 1956 the project had been extended to reorganization of the public health services in Panama City and Colón.

As a necessary first step in many underdeveloped areas toward raising levels of health and strengthening health programs, WHO continued in 1956 to give priority to the eradication of malaria and to emphasize control or eradication of other communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, yaws, trachoma, typhoid fever, plague, and leprosy. Member countries meeting at the ninth World Health Assembly in Geneva in May 1956 noted that several countries had already made good progress in malaria eradication campaigns and again stressed the urgency of eradicating malaria as soon as possible. WHO assisted about 35 countries and territories with malaria eradication or control programs through assignment of advisory and training personnel. In many cases the U.N. Children's Fund supplied DDT to these programs.

In June 1956 a WHO malaria conference for countries in Europe and the Middle East met in Athens and surveyed malaria eradication programs and problems in those areas. Following this conference

the sixth session of the Expert Committee on Malaria met at WHO headquarters in Geneva, bringing together experts from the United States and other countries to help WHO plan the strategy for an all-out attack on the disease. WHO also sponsored meetings of malaria experts in Amsterdam and Belgrade during the year. A WHO-sponsored conference in January 1956 attended by representatives of Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Viet-Nam led to the establishment of an antimalaria coordination board to plan closer coordination of the malaria campaigns of these countries. The Pan American Sanitary Organization, which is also the WHO regional organization for the Americas, has since 1955 maintained a coordination office of the malaria eradication program in the Americas.

During 1956 over 100 projects aimed at other communicable diseases received WHO assistance, including 40 in tuberculosis control and 20 in control of yaws and the venereal diseases. WHO continued to stress the importance of environmental sanitation and assisted about 30 projects to help member countries improve environmental health conditions, including provision of pure water supplies and safe waste disposal.

The medical and health aspects of atomic energy led WHO to add a specialist in health physics to its staff in 1956 and to begin to develop its program of assistance to member countries. The International Commissions on Radiological Protection and on Radiological Units established official relations with WHO. Following a meeting of these Commissions in Geneva in April 1956, a WHO study group comprising nine members of the Commissions advised on the role of WHO in providing training, technical assistance, and recommended standards in the health aspects of atomic energy. In August a WHO expert study group on the effects of radiation on human heredity met in Copenhagen.

At the request of the New York Department of Mental Hygiene, WHO assigned the British psychiatrist, Dr. David H. H. Thomas, to the United States for 3 months to advise on the training and care of mentally retarded persons.

In order to help countries acquire well trained staffs of health and medical personnel, WHO awarded fellowships for training to persons in most member countries. It was announced in 1956 that during 1955 WHO awarded 939 international fellowships. In addition, seminars helped to give refresher training in many aspects of health. During 1956 seminars were held in Africa on vital statistics and health education; in the Americas on yaws eradication, the application of the International Sanitary Regulations, and sanitary engineering; in Southeast Asia for leaders in nursing; in Europe on virus and rickettsial diseases, the prevention of accidents in childhood, child

guidance, and environmental sanitation; and in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Western Pacific on environmental sanitation. Also in the Western Pacific, WHO sponsored a refresher course for assistant medical practitioners.

WHO meetings to facilitate the interchange of expert health and medical experience included those in Africa on schistosomiasis and yaws; in the Americas on nursing; in Southeast Asia on rural health; and in Europe on the teaching of preventive medicine, nursing education, and health education. During the year some 20 expert committees and consultant groups met to advise WHO on the revision of the *International Pharmacopoeia*, which contains recommended specifications for pharmaceuticals; on addiction-producing drugs as part of the WHO program of determining when new substances are liable to produce addiction and should be placed under international controls; on rabies; and on many other subjects. The Expert Committee on Rabies confirmed the successful results of WHO's field trials in Iran of a new antirabies serum which for the first time gives protection to persons bitten on the head or neck. Of particular interest to the more highly developed countries were expert committees that advised on ways in which WHO might advance knowledge and control of rheumatic diseases and mental disorders and improve laboratory methods.

WHO continues to publish the reports of expert committees and other works disseminating health knowledge. During 1956 book-length monographs were issued on *The Training of Sanitary Engineers in Europe and the United States; Yellow Fever Vaccination; Meat Hygiene* and *Composting*, a subject of particular value to Asian countries interested in sanitary use of organic wastes. The *Specifications of Pesticides*, based on the work of the Expert Committee on Insecticides, provides a guide to member countries in the production and use of chemicals against insects and pests injurious to health.

A complete issue of the WHO *Chronicle* reviewed the development and implementation of the International Sanitary Regulations. Since these quarantine measures went into effect in October 1952, there has not been a single epidemic of cholera, plague, typhus fever, relapsing fever, smallpox, or yellow fever as a result of international travel. Each country applying the regulations undertakes to enforce adequate standards of hygiene on ships and aircraft. The ninth World Health Assembly in May 1956 abolished additional requirements applying to the Mecca pilgrimage.

The ninth World Health Assembly transferred three associate members to full membership and admitted three African territories to associate membership, raising the total membership in WHO to 88. The U.S.S.R. announced to the WHO Executive Board in January

1956 plans for return to active participation. The ninth World Health Assembly decided financial terms under which presently inactive members may resume active participation, including token payments for inactive years, but by the end of 1956 no inactive members had actually resumed active participation. (Early in 1957, Poland, Albania, and Bulgaria announced their return.) [See Part IV, p. 267.]

During the latter part of 1956 the WHO regional office for the Eastern Mediterranean was moved to Geneva temporarily, owing to political developments in the area, but the work of WHO in the region proceeded with a minimum of disruption.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)

The General Assembly in 1956, at its 11th session, decided to make the Executive Board of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) independent of the membership of the Social Commission of ECOSOC in order to provide for the direct election of all members of the Executive Board by the Economic and Social Council and to increase the membership of the Executive Board from 26 to 30 members to be elected from "Members of the United Nations or members of the Specialized Agencies."

UNICEF has, during calendar year 1956, pursued its work of promoting national efforts to develop permanent health and welfare services for mothers and children by providing necessary imported equipment and supplies and technical advice made available with the cooperation of the specialized agencies. Allocations by the Executive Board totaled $22,400,000, bringing the total of aid provided to $237,800,000 since the beginning of the Fund in 1947. The program of UNICEF during 1956 has continued to reflect the shift in emphasis provided for by the General Assembly in 1950 from emergency assistance to self-help projects that will integrate child health and welfare services into the permanent structure of national and local governments. UNICEF is currently assisting 311 programs in 98 countries and territories, as compared to 268 programs in 92 countries and territories during 1955.

Eighty-eight percent of the allocations for project aid was for projects of long-range benefit, which were of four main types: (1) improvement of maternal and child welfare services, (2) control or eradication of communicable diseases, (3) supplemental child feeding, and (4) milk conservation.

(1) Assistance to maternal and child welfare services and training by the provision of equipment and supplies for rural health centers,

clinics, laboratories, children's hospitals, children's institutions, and nurses' and midwives' training schools and centers. In this field UNICEF allocated $3,400,000 in 1956, bringing to 91 the total number of currently assisted projects in 65 countries and territories. An example of this type of project is $659,800 allocated to assist the Government of Thailand to develop its maternal and child welfare services by improving the standards of the existing health centers by the end of 1956. This program envisaged providing 6-week refresher courses emphasizing public health to practicing midwives. With their return to the centers, UNICEF equipment and expendables, including milk, are issued to the centers to facilitate intensified maternal and child health work. The refresher training is given at Bangkok or at Chiengmai at the maternal and child welfare training and demonstration centers assisted by UNICEF and WHO or at the center in Cholburi which is receiving assistance from U.S. bilateral aid. In 1956 the Government began to appoint midwives who are not needed at existing health centers to "work points" where the local community provides working and living accommodations. Over 100 midwives were appointed to such work points during 1956 with beneficial results including a growth in local community initiative. UNICEF has also provided teaching and ward demonstration equipment for midwives' training schools. All student midwives receive field training at one of the two maternal and child welfare training and demonstration centers. By the end of 1956 preparations were being made for the training of 700 midwives in 1957.

(2) Control or eradication of communicable diseases, largely affecting children (malaria, tuberculosis, yaws, leprosy, prenatal syphilis, diphtheria, whooping cough, and others) through the provision of insecticides, antibiotics, vaccines, serum, or of equipment for their local production. Allocations in 1956 for disease control programs amounted to $9,600,000, or about 52 percent of the total program allocations for the year. Almost one-third of the total of all program allocations during the year was for malaria control. Particularly noteworthy was the project that allocated $2,395,000 to Mexico for malaria eradication. Malaria is one of the most serious health problems in Mexico, affecting about 2,000,000 people each year. The Government of Mexico estimates the annual economic loss due to malaria at more than $160,000,000. Under a 1955 allocation UNICEF provided insecticide sprays and support for the first phase of the 5-year campaign of insecticide spraying to eradicate malaria in Mexico. This was UNICEF's first support to a full-scale malaria eradication program. By the end of September 1956, 94 percent of the houses in the malarious zones had been surveyed. Full coverage of the country will start in January 1957. Depending on the characteristics of

malaria transmission, spraying will be carried out once or twice each year, and after it is completed the phase of surveillance and reinspection will begin. When eradication or the absence of any new cases of malaria for 3 years has been achieved, surveillance will become part of the normal operation of the regular public health service.

(3) Long-range supplemental child-feeding programs especially directed toward building up permanent programs to combat nutritional deficiency diseases by providing dried skim milk, fish liver oil, developing new protein rich foods, and through family education in the values of good nutrition for children. In this field UNICEF allocated $1,685,000, of which $1,500,000 was for the purpose of covering ocean freight costs of skim milk powder obtained from U.S. surplus stocks free at the port of exit. In 1956 a peak number of 3,600,000 children and pregnant and nursing women received daily rations of powdered skim milk provided by UNICEF through its various nutritional programs in 56 countries. In addition, some 2,000,000 persons in 6 countries were reached in emergency feeding programs, bringing the total receiving some form of supplementary feeding through UNICEF to over 5,600,000 persons.

Typical of this type of project is the one in Libya for which UNICEF has allocated $85,500. Malnutrition is common among children in Libya, where the average daily consumption of all age groups is less than 1,400 calories. A high priority has been given by the government for school feeding programs for needy children, and UNICEF is providing skim milk powder and fish liver oil capsules as well as utensils for serving and vehicles for distribution. In 1956 the program was in effect in 357 primary schools in all of the three provinces, benefiting over 60,000 children.

(4) UNICEF allocated $2,167,000 in 1956 for milk conservation through equipment for milk drying and milk pasteurization in plants to assure better use of locally available milk for children. Since the inception of the program UNICEF has authorized assistance to 178 milk plants, of which 132 are now in operation. Under an allocation of $999,200 approved in March 1956, two plants for sterilizing milk in the bottle are being built in Southern Italy at Gioia and Ragusa. This product can be distributed without refrigeration and will meet a special need in Southern Italy where household refrigeration is very limited. Fluid milk from the UNICEF-aided plants was distributed free to 84,000 school children in the years 1954–55, and powdered milk from Frosinone reached 43,000 during the school year and 454,000 at summer camps. The Italian Government is trying to build up national milk resources in order to meet a greater proportion of its needs out of local production. UNICEF's assistance to Italy has had many good effects besides the provision of a certain amount

of free milk for mother and child-feeding programs. It has spurred the Italian Government to make nutritional surveys of children's diets with the participation of FAO. These surveys have indicated the areas of greatest need and formed a sound basis for increased governmental and international action.

In addition, $2,287,000 was allocated during 1956 for emergency aid, of which $700,000 was allocated to Hungarian relief; $55,000 was allocated to India for the maintenance of an emergency stockpile of drugs; $28,000 to Japan, all of which was allocated for the payment of ocean freight for surplus stocks of dried skim milk from the United States; $800,000 was allocated to Korea for ocean freight for dried milk from the United States for a feeding program benefiting 1,300,000 children and 200,000 mothers; Pakistan was authorized $594,000 for food to alleviate hunger caused by crop destruction due to floods; and Port Said was allocated $110,000 for alleviation of distress of mothers and children moved from Port Said to emergency housing in other parts of the country during the Suez crisis.

To summarize, in 1956, 32,000,000 children and nursing and pregnant women directly benefited from UNICEF-assisted programs, and an increase to over 45,000,000 is anticipated during 1957. During 1956, 36,800,000 children were tested for tuberculosis and 14,300,000 of these were vaccinated, bringing the total number of vaccinations since the inception of UNICEF to 74,800,000. Nearly 10,000,000 mothers and children were protected from malaria in 1956 by DDT furnished by UNICEF. The several yaws campaigns resulted in the treatment of 4,000,000 people, bringing the total number of persons cured of that disease through UNICEF-assisted programs to 14,300,000. UNICEF-assisted trachoma campaigns have resulted in the treatment of 1,200,000 children since the inception of the campaigns to the end of 1956. During 1956, 324,800 were examined and 220,200 were treated. In addition, under the various long-range feeding and emergency programs over 5,600,000 mothers and children received daily rations of milk. Finally, taking into account UNICEF aid approved in 1956, approximately 11,000 maternal and child welfare centers throughout the world, but primarily in Asia, have received aid in the form of basic equipment and expendable supplies.

Government contributions to the central account of UNICEF have increased from $10,400,000 donated by 35 governments in 1951 to approximately $17,400,000 donated or pledged by 73 governments in 1956. The U.S. contribution to the 1956 program of UNICEF was $9,700,000, or approximately 56 percent of the total, bringing the amount of U.S. financial support since 1947 to approximately $124,200,000. In addition, contributions from governments to proj-

ects carried on within their own territories in accordance with UNICEF's policy of local matching of contributions of UNICEF totaled $51,000,000 in 1956.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

The ninth Biennial Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) held in New Delhi, India, in November and December 1956 launched three major projects: (1) the extension of primary education in Latin America, (2) scientific research on arid land problems, and (3) a program of mutual appreciation of Asian and Western cultural values. The Organization decided at this conference to devote increased funds principally to these three projects during the biennial period 1957–58 as well as an expansion of a program of aid to member states similar to the U.N. Expanded Technical Assistance Program.

The membership of UNESCO increased to 79 by the end of 1956 with the accession of Bulgaria, Finland, Morocco, Rumania, Sudan, and Tunisia.

The UNESCO program objectives are long-range: to assist member states in raising their levels of education; to encourage and promote exchange of knowledge in the fields of education, science, and culture; to promote higher education and scientific research; to develop increased international understanding and mutual respect among peoples; and to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law, and for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In the field of education emphasis continued to be placed on both fundamental and primary education. The project to stimulate suitable reading material for new literates gained considerable impetus through a seminar held in Pakistan for countries in that area and through actions taken at the ninth General Conference. UNESCO continued its support of the two regional fundamental education training centers in Patzcuaro, Mexico, for Latin America, and Sirs-el-Layan, Egypt, for the Arab States. A short course was inaugurated for important specialists who cannot be spared from their regular jobs for the full 19 months study program. In the spring of 1956 at Lima, Peru, UNESCO sponsored a conference which endorsed the proposed 10-year UNESCO major project on the extension of primary education in Latin America.

During the year UNESCO convened in Paris an international committee to continue the study of the presentation of Asian cultures in Western textbooks. An International Advisory Committee on

Curriculum Study and Development was convened in Paris during the year also. In February 1956 UNESCO sponsored, in cooperation with the American Educational Research Association, an international seminar on educational research held at Atlantic City, N.J. Representatives from European, Asian, and Latin American countries attended; attention was given principally to the exchange of information, the national development of educational research, cooperative research at the international level, and the development of common methods and techniques.

In the field of science the UNESCO General Conference voted increased grants for the International Geophysical Year, the Council for International Organizations of the Medical Sciences, and the Pacific Science Association. The Organization endeavored to stimulate the teaching of natural science and the dissemination of scientific knowledge and methods through conferences, missions of specialists, and the development of inexpensive techniques for underdeveloped areas. During 1956 progress was made in accelerating the development of research programs on arid zone and humid tropics problems, marine sciences, cell biology, and new sources of energy. In cooperation with the Government of Australia, the UNESCO International Advisory Committee on Arid Zone Research held meetings at Canberra and Melbourne, Australia. Similar International Advisory Committees, with the participation of U.S. experts, met to expand knowledge of research on the humid tropics (Kandy, Ceylon) and on marine sciences (Lima, Peru). A conference of experts in cell biology met at Providence, R. I., in July 1956. The Science Cooperation Offices in Latin America, the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia continued their work in promoting the teaching and dissemination of science and encouraging and supporting scientific research.

In the social sciences, studies were carried forward during 1956 to assist in combating the problems caused by social dislocations in underdeveloped countries resulting from increased industrialization. Of particular note in this area was the joint UNESCO–ECAFE-sponsored regional meeting on the "Problems of Urbanization in Southeast Asia" in Bangkok in September. In addition, a research center on the social implications of industrialization in Southern Asia was established during the year at Calcutta, India.

UNESCO's activities in the cultural field were aimed at developing international cultural cooperation and preserving and making more widely available the cultural heritage of mankind.

In 1956 additional countries ratified or acceded to the Universal Copyright Convention negotiated as a result of UNESCO initiative, bringing the total number of parties to 21 (including the United

States). The completion of this convention represented a long-sought goal of the United States, since it offers a means for regularizing and improving protection of American literary, scientific, and artistic works. By the end of 1956, nine countries had become parties to a Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict. The United States signed this convention but has not yet ratified it.

Thirty-seven countries, including the United States, participated in an international campaign for museums sponsored by UNESCO, which stimulated the general public's interest in the cultural and educational work of museums of all types throughout the world. UNESCO also stimulated the production of art publications; and in 1956 works were published on Iranian miniatures and wall painting, the Stave churches of Norway, and the medieval frescoes of Yugoslavia. In addition, UNESCO assembled 24 sets of a traveling exhibit on Persian art for world distribution and began work on a similar project on masterworks of European watercolors for eventual circulation in 1957.

UNESCO held two meetings on the problems of international exchanges of publications, one in Paris in February 1956 concerning worldwide exchange problems, and one in Habana, Cuba, in October on exchange of publications in Latin America.

Regional pilot projects in public library development were either initiated or continued in Medellín, Colombia, New Delhi, India, and Nigeria, and continuing technical assistance was provided to member states for the development of microphotography of documents.

Ten cultural leaders from South and Southeast Asia (Indonesia, Laos, India, Viet-Nam, the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Burma, Cambodia, and Ceylon) and civic leaders in seven American cities (San Francisco, Minneapolis, Boston, Detroit, Ann Arbor, Louisville, and Washington) took part in a coast-to-coast series of seminars sponsored by UNESCO and the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO in April and May 1956. The discussions were centered around the problem of defining the common cultural interests.

UNESCO continued to promote the exchange of persons and to facilitate the development and use of mass communications for educational, cultural, and scientific purposes. In 1956 UNESCO awarded fellowships in the areas of study related to education, science, and culture, primarily to persons from less developed countries.

To further the use of mass communications for UNESCO objectives, several important meetings were held during 1956. An international meeting of experts was held with representatives from 24 countries in April to discuss "Professional Training for Journalism." In June a conference of specialists in the use of films for television

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was convened in Paris. This meeting was attended by leading representatives of film and television organizations from many countries, and agreement was reached on measures to increase international film and kinescope exchange. One of the effects of this meeting was to make the educational achievements of American television and film production known abroad.

UNESCO also carried on activities under the United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance. For the year 1956 there were allocated funds totaling $4,939,000. The number of experts on mission assignments by the end of the year numbered 206, fellowship awards during the year totaled 168, and equipment ordered totaled $2,130,508. UNESCO continued to provide technical assistance in the following seven fields: primary and secondary education, fundamental education, technical education, special educational services, science research, scientific teaching, and scientific and technical documentation services. At the request of governments, assistance was also provided in the social sciences, particularly in the development of new courses and faculties of social sciences in universities and in conducting basic cultural and sociological surveys required for effective planning of new projects.

Although the major part of the 1956 program was a continuation of programs initiated in earlier years, 19 projects were started in 1956. In some cases these were in areas where programs were being established for the first time, as for example in Ethiopia and Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast). [See also Part IV, p. 250, and Part V, p. 270.]

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

The Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council approved resolutions in 1956 that launched the remaining two phases of the U.S. human rights action program initially proposed in 1953 in the Commission by the U.S. representative, Mrs. Oswald B. Lord. The resolutions call for periodic reporting on human rights and studies of specific aspects of human rights. The first phase of the U.S. human rights action program was initiated by the General Assembly with the adoption of a resolution on December 14, 1955, to provide advisory services in the field of human rights.

The General Assembly's Committee III (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) continued in 1956 its consideration of the two Draft Covenants initially prepared by the Commission on Human Rights. The

committee reviewed and revised various substantive articles of the Draft Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The committee recommended to the General Assembly, and the Assembly agreed, that consideration of the two Draft Covenants should be continued at its 1957 session and that the committee should complete its consideration, if possible, by the end of the 1958 session, so that the Covenants would be ready for adoption by the General Assembly at that session.

Other U.N. activities during the year in the field of human rights and fundamental freedoms concerned the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities, the status of women, self-determination, freedom of information, and practices analogous to slavery.

To initiate the remaining two phases of the U.S. human rights action program, the Economic and Social Council on August 1, 1956, at its 22d session requested member states and the specialized agencies to submit human rights reports every 3 years to the Commission on Human Rights and approved, as the first subject for special study by the Commission, freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention, and exile. The reports of member states to the Commission will describe developments and the progress achieved during the preceding 3 years in the field of human rights and measures taken to safeguard human liberty in their metropolitan areas and non-self-governing and trust territories. They will deal with the rights enumerated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the self-determination of peoples. The specialized agencies will report on rights coming within their purview.

The Commission on Human Rights at its 1956 session elected a committee of four members to prepare the study on freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention, and exile. It undertook the preparation of a preliminary report for the consideration of the 1957 session of the Commission.

The U.S. report on freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention, and exile in the United States was submitted to the United Nations in November 1957.

Discrimination and Minorities

The Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities met for its eighth session January 3–20, 1956, in New York. Justice Philip Halpern of Buffalo was the U.S. expert attending the Commission.

The Subcommission considered a preliminary report on the study of discrimination in education presented by the special rapporteur for this project. The Commission discussed various concepts and

terminology used in the study and also further sources of information which might be utilized.

With regard to other studies, the Subcommission noted that the ILO had decided to place this subject of discrimination in employment on the agenda of its 40th conference in 1957. In view of assurance by the U.N. Secretary-General that funds would be available for one additional study in 1957, the Subcommission decided to give priority to the subject of discrimination in the matter of religious rights and practices and encouraged the rapporteur already selected for this work to begin immediate work. The Subcommission expects to initiate the study of discrimination in political rights at an early date.

Among other matters considered by the Subcommission was the Final Act of a Conference of Non-governmental Organizations interested in the eradication of prejudice and discrimination which had met in Geneva in April 1956 under the auspices of the United Nations. A large number of organizations in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council participated in this conference. The Subcommission agreed that conferences of this type would have great influence and welcomed the action of the conference in resolving that the participating organizations should give an example by their own conduct and exert increasing efforts in furthering the elimination of discrimination.

The Subcommission also noted the new program of advisory services in the field of human rights authorized by the General Assembly and urged the desirability of holding seminars on the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities.

Freedom of Information

In accordance with plans approved by the Economic and Social Council at its 21st session in April 1956, a seminar for news personnel was conducted by the United Nations in Geneva from July 23 to August 8 under the advisory services program in the field of human rights. Participants were editors and newswriters from more than 30 countries selected by the Secretary-General on the basis of nominations by member governments. The program included consideration of news facilities provided by the United Nations and discussion of the basic principle of freedom of information in relation to current news practice and similar matters.

The General Assembly at its 11th session decided to postpone consideration of the Draft Convention on Freedom of Information which had been placed on its agenda as the result of a decision in its 1954 session.

During 1956 UNESCO convened a meeting of experts in Paris to make recommendations on improvements in the training of journalists. UNESCO also issued a report on "Problems in Transmitting Press Messages" based on information from member governments and from the International Telecommunication Union. This showed that high and divergent rates for press messages frequently impeded the flow of news between nations. Cooperation between UNESCO and the Universal Postal Union resulted in substantial concessions on postal rates as they affect publications.

Self-Determination

The controversial question of self-determination continued during 1956 to receive a good deal of attention in the United Nations, especially in view of the developments in the Middle East and Hungary. It will be recalled that the General Assembly at its 10th session postponed consideration of the item "Recommendations Concerning International Respect for the Right of Peoples and Nations to Self-Determination" to its 11th session. In the course of the 11th session of the General Assembly, the self-determination item was again postponed until the 12th session of the General Assembly meeting in 1957.

Slavery

A Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery was completed September 4, 1956, by a U.N. Conference of Plenipotentiaries convened for the purpose in Geneva on August 13 in accordance with a decision of the 21st session of the Economic and Social Council. The United States participated in this conference. In line with previous statements when proposals for a supplementary convention had been discussed, the U.S. delegation explained U.S. abhorrence of slavery in all its forms and U.S. interest in educational and other measures which would bring the weight of world opinion to bear on the eradication of this evil. At the same time the delegation expressed our doubt concerning the wisdom and efficacy of a further convention regarding slavery and announced that the United States would not sign or ratify the convention.

Under the convention as adopted, parties pledge to "take all practicable and necessary legislative and other measures to bring about progressively and as soon as possible the complete abandonment" of all forms of slavery, where they exist, including such practices as debt bondage, serfdom, marriage practices under which a woman, without

her consent, is given in marriage for a payment in money or kind or by inheritance. The parties also agree to punish persons engaged in the international slave trade, prevent ships and aircraft flying their flags from conveying slaves from one country to another, and insure that their ports, airfields, and coasts are not used for this purpose, and to exchange information to aid in combating the slave trade. The Slavery Convention of 1926, to which some 46 countries including the United States are parties, contains generally similar provisions with the exception of those regarding the international slave trade which were not dealt with in the earlier convention. All member states of the United Nations and of the specialized agencies may become parties to the Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery. By the end of 1956 it had been signed on behalf of 33 countries. It will come into force when two states have ratified it.

Status of Women

Progress continued in 1956 in extending voting rights and obtaining equal opportunities for women in all fields. The Commission on the Status of Women reviewed the various aspects of equality for women at its 10th session which met in Geneva March 12–29. Measures to remove discrimination against women were considered also in UNESCO, ILO, and other international bodies.

In urging further efforts to expand opportunities for women in public service, the Commission on the Status of Women emphasized the program of advisory services in the field of human rights approved by the 10th General Assembly. It called attention to the seminars authorized under this program as "a particularly fruitful method for the promotion of the rights of women and the improvement of their status through exchange and experience in this field" and requested the Secretary-General to explore the possibility of holding regional seminars "to assist women who have recently acquired political rights, or do not yet fully exercise them, in developing their understanding of civic responsibilities and increasing their participation in the public life of their countries." In response to this request and similar action in the Economic and Social Council, the Secretary-General organized an expert working group in Bangkok in October which made plans for a seminar for Asian women on the subject of civic responsibilities and increased participation in public life to be held in Thailand in 1957. Mrs. Lorena Hahn, the U.S. representative on the Commission on the Status of Women, participated in the expert working group as an observer.

Limitations of educational opportunities were considered by the Commission on the Status of Women and also by UNESCO. The

Commission discussed plans for a study of discrimination in education undertaken by the Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities and invited the Secretary-General to prepare an analytical summary of information on discrimination against women for use in connection with this study. In addition, the Regional Conference on Free and Compulsory Education in Latin America, convened by UNESCO in Lima in April 1956, adopted a resolution pointing out that primary education, to be truly democratic, must be based on "the principle of equality of educational opportunity regardless of . . . sex." The 19th International Conference on Public Education in Geneva in July adopted a recommendation concerning school inspection which pointed out, *inter alia*, the advantage of using women as inspectors in certain types of schools such as nursery schools.

Equal pay for equal work and expansion of economic opportunities for women were continued to be topics of major importance. The Commission on the Status of Women called attention to collective bargaining methods as a means of assuring "the application of equal rates of pay to individual women workers who perform comparable work with men in individual establishments." The ILO prepared a report on official action to implement the principle of equal pay based on information requested from governments. The ILO also convened a meeting of experts on women's employment in Geneva November 5–10, 1956, in which Mrs. Alice Leopold, Assistant to the U.S. Secretary of Labor for Women's Affairs, served as chairman. The agenda included part-time employment for women, employment of older women workers, vocational guidance and training for women, and technical assistance programs in underdeveloped countries.

A U.N. Convention on the Nationality of Married Women was completed by the General Assembly in its 11th session and was opened for signature February 20, 1957. The United States had opposed the development of this convention in earlier sessions of the Commission on the Status of Women and the Economic and Social Council on the ground that the nationality of women could be considered to better advantage in relation to nationality as a whole and also because the text of the convention did not provide the full equality for men and women assured in U.S. nationality laws. The United States abstained in the final vote in the General Assembly and did not sign the convention.

The status of women continued to improve as the result of U.N. technical assistance projects of many types. This was true not only of projects on maternal and child health, nursing, nutrition, and home economics, but also with relation to many projects in the general fields of education, employment, community development, housing, and

related activities. The Commission on the Status of Women considered a summary of information on such projects and asked that it be brought to the attention of governments and organizations so that they might "become aware of the wide range of possibilities through which improvement may be sought in the status of women."

GENERAL REVIEW OF U.N. PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FIELDS

The Economic and Social Council continued in 1956 the successful procedure of a "general review of the development and coordination of the economic, social and human rights programs and activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies as a whole." The debates focused on the problems of coordination and the interrelationship of the activities of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The Council requested that its functional and regional economic commissions make an even greater effort toward concentration on the major economic, social, and human rights problems and that the commissions include a special section on this effort in their next reports to the Council. The same recommendation was suggested to the specialized agencies.

Carrying this effort one step further and recognizing that progress on streamlining the programs must begin "at home," the Council has asked the Secretary-General to prepare for its 24th session "Observations on the Work Program of the Council" which will include positive suggestions and comments for a more effective concentration of U.N. resources in the economic and social fields "and on the work programs of the regional economic and functional commissions."

The foundation for achieving effective coordination continues to rest with the governments. The Council recognized that in spite of the attention given to improvement of coordination on the national level, the problem remains. Hopeful that an exchange of information and an analysis of difficulties encountered and means and methods by which the problem has been approached would assist in achieving completely effective coordination, the Council requested the Secretary-General to prepare such a report and requested the member states to cooperate to the fullest in submitting the necessary information and advice.

The Council asked the Secretary-General to prepare a report for the 12th General Assembly on the results of the experience gained in the temporary posting of the headquarters personnel to the U.N. regional commissions. This report will come to the Council at its 24th session to enable the Council to transmit its views to the General Assembly.

PART III

Dependent Territories

THE year 1956 witnessed the further evolution at an increasingly rapid pace of dependent territories from colonial to self-governing or independent status. It saw the emergence of Morocco, Tunisia, and the Sudan as independent nations and the agreement by the Government of the United Kingdom that its colony of the Gold Coast should be granted independence. On March 6, 1957, the Gold Coast became the fully self-governing state of Ghana. The adjacent Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration voted on May 9, 1956, in a plebiscite conducted under the auspices of the United Nations, to join with the newly independent Gold Coast. When this union took place, British Togoland ceased to be a trust territory. Subsequently on March 8, 1957, the new state of Ghana became a member of the United Nations. The Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration in a referendum held on October 28, 1956, under French auspices, voted for a new political statute which the General Assembly declared to be a very significant step in the achievement of the objectives of article 76 of the Charter and the trusteeship agreement. In the Caribbean area plans for the creation of a federation of most of the British territories took further shape. As the result of an agreement between the New Zealand Government and the Legislature of Western Samoa, further progress toward self-government has also taken place in the New Zealand-administered Trust Territory of Samoa. The agreement outlines a plan of constitutional change leading toward a greater measure of self-government to take place within the next 4 years.

The United States continues to believe that the colonial relationship today is essentially unsatisfactory and that it should give way to self-government as rapidly as possible. It is of course important in the interest of world peace and stability that the principle of self-determination leading to full self-government or independence should be applied in an orderly and resolute fashion. Furthermore a dependent territory should have institutions that render it politically stable and economically viable before it assumes the burdens and responsibilities of self-government or independence. The U.S. ap-

proach to colonial problems continues to be based on the idea stated by Secretary Dulles "that the orderly transition from colonial to self-governing status should be carried resolutely to a conclusion."

The United Nations in the course of 1956 continued to consider problems regarding the aspirations of non-self-governing peoples to self-government as well as their concomitant economic and social advancement. Discussions on these problems took place mainly in the Trusteeship Council, in Committee IV of the General Assembly established for this purpose, and in the General Assembly's Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories which handles the reports made by administering members under article 73(e) of the Charter on the economic, social, and educational conditions in non-self-governing territories. The problems of dependent peoples, as a result of the increasing world interest in them, engender long and often controversial discussions in which there is a great need for objective views and conciliatory measures.

The 11th General Assembly also continued its annual review of developments in non-self-governing territories other than trust territories. This review as noted above was based on the information submitted by Australia, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, and the United States in accordance with chapter XI of the Charter. The above governments now submit information annually on 55 non-self-governing territories with a total population of about 100 million people. The United States in 1956 continued its active interest in United Nations measures in this field which reflected our continued concern for the welfare and advancement of dependent peoples throughout the world and our particular responsibility for the administration of five territories: Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, American Samoa, and the Virgin Islands of the United States.

The 11th General Assembly carried on its annual review of the trusteeship system and the work of the Trusteeship Council as it is defined in chapters XII and XIII of the Charter. Of the remaining 10 trust territories (British Togoland having decided to join the Gold Coast), the 6 in Africa and the 4 in the Pacific area have a total population of approximately 18 million people. The United States administers one of these territories—the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. In 1956 the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly were concerned with the problem of setting up a plebiscite for the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration. They discussed the French Government's referendum report relating to the further status of the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration. The Assembly also continued to show its concern

with the difficult problem of the international status of South-West Africa.

United States interest in the problem of dependent territories was further demonstrated during 1956 by its active participation as a member of the Caribbean Commission and of the South Pacific Commission. These two regional organizations, which are concerned in an advisory and consultative capacity with the economic and social development of non-self-governing territories within their respective geographic areas, are outside the structure of the U.N. system. Their objectives, however, are in accordance with U.N. aims, and their work is of mutual interest.

TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

The Trusteeship Council met in two regular sessions in 1956, the 17th from February 7 to April 6, and the 18th from June 7 to August 14. It also held its 6th special session from December 10 to 18 to consider the referendum in French Togoland and related developments.

At its 17th session the Council reviewed conditions in five of the African trust territories. The Council had available as supplementary information the reports of the 1955 United Nations Visiting Missions to the two Togolands and the two Cameroons trust territories, on which Robert R. Robbins and Edward W. Mulcahy of the United States, respectively, served as members. It also considered the Togoland unification problem and specifically the report of the U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner for British Togoland relative to the future of the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration. At U.S. initiative, recommendations were adopted in connection with the question of the attainment by the trust territories of the objective of self-government or independence under article 76(b) of the Charter. These recommendations urged the setting of intermediate targets and dates for the political, economic, social, and educational development of the trust territories.

Mason Sears, representative of the United States on the Trusteeship Council, served during the 17th session as its president and Benjamin Gerig served as U.S. representative. Rafik Asha of Syria succeeded Mr. Sears as president at the beginning of the 18th session.

At its 18th session the Council considered the annual reports on Italian Somaliland and British Togoland as well as on the four trust territories in the Pacific, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific

Islands under United States administration. During its discussions on the Pacific trust territories it had available as background the reports of the 1955 United Nations Visiting Mission to the Pacific.

In the course of these two sessions the Council, besides considering annual and Visiting Mission reports, dealt with numerous regular petitions and heard oral petitions presented by two representatives of an organization in the French Cameroons.

At its special session in December 1956, the Council examined the report submitted by the French Government on the conduct of the referendum held in French Togoland on October 28, 1956, as well as related documentation in support of the French Government's view that the trusteeship agreement for French Togoland should be terminated. The Council voted to transmit this documentation to Committee IV of the General Assembly without recommendations.

The 11th General Assembly convened on November 12, 1956, considered the Trusteeship Council's report, and took note of the Council's recommendations concerning the various trust territories. It is Committee IV of the General Assembly which deals with trusteeship and non-self-governing territories matters. The United States was represented on this committee successively by Senator William F. Knowland and Frank C. Nash.

Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands

The 64,300 inhabitants of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands live on some 96 atolls and islands scattered over 3 million square miles of the Pacific Ocean. These islands comprise three major groups, the Mariana Islands, the Caroline Islands, and the Marshall Islands, lying over 1,000 miles west of Hawaii, about midway between Australia and Japan. As a result of World War I Germany renounced its sovereignty over the islands, which were then placed under a League of Nations mandate with Japan as mandatory power. United States military forces occupied the territory during World War II, and on July 18, 1947, the area became a strategic trust territory under United States administration by agreement with the Security Council. The territory is administered by the Department of the Interior with the exception of the Saipan District, which is administered by the Department of the Navy.

At its 18th session during the summer of 1956, the Trusteeship Council examined the 1955 annual report on the trust territory. Delmas H. Nucker, High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, appeared as the special representative before the Council, and Alfonso R. Oiterong, superintendent of schools for the Palau District, addressed the Council as a member of the United States delegation.

Among its several conclusions and recommendations the Council, endorsing the Visiting Mission's findings, noted with satisfaction the progress made in the Trust Territory and commended the administration for the excellent relationship established with the people of the territory.

The Council also endorsed the view of the Visiting Mission that the slow growth of the territorial consciousness need not in itself be regarded as a serious defect and that its development by means of education and a gradual process of evolution may in the end be more sound. In the economic field the Council, approving the Visiting Mission's report, urged the administering authority to continue its efforts to develop the agricultural and industrial resources, emphasizing the diversification of crops and the need to extend the shipping facilities and remedy the unsatisfactory road conditions. It also noted with satisfaction the progress in the settlement of land claims and recommended that efforts be made to conclude a final settlement of war damage claims with the Japanese Government. The Council also endorsed the Mission's view that the administering authority should increase the educational subsidies and assistance to the municipalities and district communities to help them carry out their responsibilities in this field, and recommended that the training program to enable Micronesians to assume increasing responsibility in the administration of the territory be accelerated.

The Council also commended the administering authority for its success noted in the Mission's report in improving health conditions, and took under consideration the adequacy of the precautionary measures taken in connection with the recent nuclear experiments in the territory.

New Guinea

Australia administers the Trust Territory of New Guinea, which covers a land area of 93,000 square miles and includes that part of the island of New Guinea north of Papua and east of the Netherlands non-self-governing territory of west New Guinea, the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, and the two northernmost islands of the Solomon group, Buka and Bougainville. Faced with such obstacles as a massive cordillera, forming the central core of the New Guinea mainland, dense tropical vegetation in the lowlands, and remote tribes and villages speaking a variety of languages, the administering authority has not yet been able to bring the territory completely under its administrative control. New Guinea was one of the Pacific Trust Territories inspected by the 1956 United Nations Visiting Mission.

At its 18th session the Trusteeship Council recalled the formidable problems posed by the physical nature of the territory and by the present stage of advancement of its peoples, and noted with satisfaction the measure of success which has attended the efforts to develop the territory and its peoples. It urged the administering authority to continue the political progress of the territory through such means as increasing the indigenous representation in the Legislative Council, developing the local government councils as rapidly as possible, appointing qualified and competent indigenous persons to the district and town advisory councils, and training indigenous persons for higher administrative positions. The Council expressed the hope that the administering authority would be able to formulate long-term economic development plans for the territory but commended the establishment of a comprehensive agricultural development program, the progress of the cooperative movement, and the implementation of its road development programs. In the field of social advancement the Council favored reexamination of the need for maintaining the restrictions on movement and reiterated its recommendation for the complete abolition of corporal punishment. A rise in the cash wage to meet the aspirations for a higher standard of living was recommended as was the acceleration of the hospital building and indigenous medical training programs. The Council noted the comprehensive school building program and the achievement of the enrollment of approximately 50 percent of the children of school age. It recommended also that the administering authority indicate such successive intermediate targets and dates in the political, economic, social, and educational fields as will create the preconditions for the attainment of self-government or independence.

Nauru

The Trust Territory of Nauru, administered by Australia on behalf of the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and itself, is a tiny isolated Pacific island near the Equator with a native population of about 2,000 persons. The only basis for an economy on the island is the rich phosphate deposits, which, however, are expected to be exhausted in approximately 40 years at the present rate of extraction. The Trusteeship Council is therefore concerned with the problem of the eventual resettlement of the Nauruans. After completing at its summer session its examination of conditions in the territory, the Council urged the administering authority to intensify its search for an area suitable for the indigenous inhabitants and to formulate at the earliest possible date general plans for their resettlement. In

other recommendations the Council commended the administering authority for measures taken to allocate additional senior posts in the administration to Nauruans and hoped that the administering authority would continue to exert every effort to create favorable conditions for the development of fishing and agriculture, skills likely to be vital in the Nauruans' future. The Council also expressed its satisfaction that further progress had been made in the educational field and stressed the importance of pursuing an educational program to provide the Nauruans with the training and vocational skills necessary for them in the future. Nauru was visited during 1956 by the United Nations Visiting Mission to the Trust Territories in the Pacific.

Western Samoa

New Zealand administers the Trust Territory of Western Samoa, which consists of the two largest islands of the Samoan group and several smaller islands lying to the west of American Samoa. In 1955 there were an estimated 96,700 inhabitants on these rugged, mountainous islands. During the discussion of developments in the territory at the 18th session of the Trusteeship Council, New Zealand announced that agreement had been reached on constitutional developments designed to bring to Western Samoa by 1960 a system of government by a cabinet of ministers responsible to the Legislature. The Council congratulated the representatives of the Samoan people and the New Zealand authorities for the manner in which they are cooperating. To insure the availability to the future government of Western Samoa of a body of trained public servants, the Council urged the administering authority to accelerate the training of Samoan personnel. It also recommended that the administering authority frame a comprehensive, long-range economic development program and that the administration attempt to persuade the Legislative Assembly of the desirability of adopting basic labor and social legislation. In the field of education the Council endorsed the recommendation of the 1956 Visiting Mission that a vocational training center should be established at the earliest possible moment.

Italian Somaliland

The Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration, located on the northeast coast of Africa, covers an area of approximately 194,000 square miles with a population of over 1¼ million inhabitants, the majority of whom are nomads. The territory is barren

over large areas and contains few known natural resources. It is unique among the trust territories in that it was not formerly a League of Nations mandate having been an Italian colony placed under U.N. trusteeship after the Second World War. It has a United Nations Advisory Council resident in the territory and has a fixed date of 1960 for independence.

During 1956 the Trusteeship Council reviewed developments in the territory and commended the Italian administration and Somali people for the rapid progress achieved by the territory toward independence, particularly in the political field where a Legislative Assembly and a Somali Government were established well in advance of the date set for independence. It noted with satisfaction that wide powers have been granted to the Legislative Assembly and Government, which are limited only by the responsibilities of the administering authority under the trusteeship agreement. The Council also noted with satisfaction that the administration of all regions and districts has been entrusted to Somaliland civil servants.

Economic difficulties continued to plague the territory, the Italian administration having to contribute over 50 percent of the territory's budget. The Council noted the continued progress achieved under the administration's plans for economic development but expressed its concern at the adverse economic situation and decided to consider the situation further when the report of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development on the economic situation in Somaliland and the comments on it by the administering authority are available. The Council expressed its appreciation of the approach taken by the administration in the direction of encouraging the nomads to participate more fully in the life of the territory and asked that particular attention be given to the problem of educating the children of nomads.

During the 11th General Assembly the Italian and Ethiopian representatives reported that bilateral negotiations between their Governments had not brought about a settlement of the disputed boundary between the trust territory and Ethiopia. The General Assembly subsequently adopted a resolution recommending that the two parties continue to complete negotiations on the entire frontier between Somaliland and Ethiopia—including sectors not yet discussed—and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its 12th session. It further expressed the opinion that if negotiations fail to achieve substantial results by that time, it would be necessary for the two parties to avail themselves of the procedure laid down in a previous General Assembly resolution which recommended mediation or arbitration in the event that negotiations fail.

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Ruanda-Urundi

The Trust Territory of Ruanda-Urundi under Belgian administration is one of the most densely populated areas in central Africa, with a total of over 4 million persons living in its 20,919 square miles. During 1956 the Trusteeship Council again considered the problems encountered by the Belgian administration in furthering the development of this territory and in general noted with satisfaction the important progress that had been made in all fields.

The primary problem of the administration is to improve the economy and raise the standard of living of the indigenous population, a problem which is complicated by the existence on the land of approximately 1 million head of cattle which are prized as a symbol of wealth and power, which do not serve as a source of food, and which place a burden on valuable land and resources that could be used for better agricultural purposes. The Council welcomed the efforts of the administering authority to bring about the abolition of the system which leads to this situation and hoped that further progress would be made in that direction. To improve the economy further, the Council also urged the administering authority to continue to seek means of meeting the recognized need for diversification and for extension of the participation of the indigenous inhabitants in all aspects of the economy.

With regard to other aspects of life in the territory, the Council expressed its pleasure that henceforth governmental positions will be open to qualified Africans and suggested that complementary efforts should be made to prepare Africans for those positions. It welcomed the successful launching of the first experiment in official lay education in the territory and expressed the hope that secular schools will be further developed. It reiterated its previous recommendations that pending the expansion of local facilities for higher education the administering authority should adopt a generous policy of granting scholarships for study abroad. Finally it recommended that the administering authority indicate such intermediate targets and dates in the political, economic, social, and educational fields as will create the most favorable conditions for progress toward self-government or independence.

Tanganyika

Tanganyika, under United Kingdom administration, is located on the east coast of Africa and is the largest of the trust territories, with

an area of 362,000 square miles and an estimated population of 8 million. Its very considerable agricultural and mineral resources, though largely underdeveloped, make this territory capable of great development. However, the multiracial character of the population, including significant European and Asian groups in addition to the large majority of Africans, complicates the problem of development.

In 1956 the Trusteeship Council examined the administration of the territory and adopted a detailed series of comments and recommendations intended to encourage further progress in all fields. It expressed the hope that the administering authority will continue to foster among all the racial communities a sense of territorial consciousness with a view to developing a fully integrated society in which there will be increasing participation by the Africans. In the economic field the Council noted that substantial progress has been achieved, particularly in the volume of foreign trade, the expansion of the territorial budget, the increase in total export values, and the formulation of a new development plan to cover the period up to 1960. The Council welcomed the efforts of the administering authority to end all forms of racial discrimination and to improve the status of women in the territory. It repeated an earlier recommendation that steps be taken progressively to establish interracial schools and to unify the educational system. It also recommended that the administering authority in its future reports indicate such successive intermediate targets and dates in the political, economic, social, and educational fields as will create conditions for the attainment of self-government or independence.

During its 11th session, on February 26, 1957, the General Assembly adopted a resolution (47 to 15 (U.S.) with 11 abstentions) calling the attention of the members of the Trusteeship Council to the views expressed by an oral petitioner, Julius K. Nyerere, president of the Tanganyika African National Union, and to the relevant debates in Committee IV on the subject, and recommended that the Council instruct its 1957 Visiting Mission to East Africa to study in particular the question of Tanganyika's political development. The United States voted against the resolution on the ground that (1) the resolution unduly emphasized the views of one petitioner to the exclusion of other groups representative of the territory; (2) a paragraph of the resolution gave the inaccurate impression that the United Kingdom had not been guiding the territory toward self-government; and (3) by establishing terms of reference for the East African Visiting Mission, the General Assembly was encroaching to a certain extent on the functions of the Trusteeship Council.

French Cameroons

On the west coast of Africa near Nigeria is the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration. It includes a population of more than 3 million persons, of whom 13,000 are Europeans.

During its 17th session in 1956 the Trusteeship Council noted a setback in the political progress of the inhabitants and suggested that new and increased efforts be made to expedite the attainment by this trust territory of the political objectives of the Trusteeship System. This action was taken because there had been riots in the territory during 1955 which had been instigated by members of an organization since outlawed—the *Union des Populations du Cameroun* (UPC). The Council expressed the hope that the feeling of increased antagonism between the northern and southern sections of the territory would soon be eliminated through the continued efforts of the administering authority. It was felt that this could be achieved by fostering national consciousness and by increased educational efforts—especially in the north—to increase the contacts among the population and to raise the standard of living. The Council also expressed the hope that the administering authority would soon enact into law and implement the projected constitutional and institutional reforms described earlier. Among these reform measures was a bill to establish universal adult suffrage and a single electoral college.

In the economic field, the administering authority was congratulated for: (1) the results obtained by the implementation of the first part of the economic and social development plan for the territory; (2) the introduction of cash crops and measures to protect the soil; and (3) plans to develop hydroelectric power and to industrialize the territory. In the interests of further developing the territory economically, it was urged that (1) increased efforts be made to diversify crops in the south and to improve their yield; (2) efforts be redoubled to introduce the best agricultural methods and equipment; (3) increased educational efforts be made to enable the inhabitants to understand the problem of soil erosion; and (4) increased attention be given to improvement of livestock and pasturage.

Efforts of the administering authority to raise the status of women were commended, but the Council urged that increased efforts be made—by educating the women—to bring about an end to the bride price system. While the administration was commended generally on progress in the field of education, the Trusteeship Council urged that in view of the need for education at all levels, more funds be allocated for that purpose, and that efforts be continued to adapt educational programs and teaching methods to the local environment. It was urged, finally, that technical education be expanded and accelerated throughout the territory.

During its 11th session, the General Assembly heard three petitioners representing two organizations in the French Cameroons and a representative from the outlawed *Union des Populations du Cameroun.* They requested (1) unification and independence of the two Cameroons; (2) discontinuance of the application of the recent *loi cadre* to the French Cameroons; and (3) the sending of a special U.N. Visiting Mission to ascertain the truth concerning conditions in the territory. In plenary session on February 26, 1957, the Assembly took note (65 to 0 with 8 (U.S.) abstentions) of the statements of the petitioners and transmitted them to the Trusteeship Council for its further study. It further expressed the hope that the administering authority would take all necessary measures to restore normal political activity in the territory.

British Cameroons

The West African Trust Territory of the Cameroons under British administration consists of two long mountainous sections of country on the eastern frontier of Nigeria which extend from Lake Chad to the Atlantic Ocean and are separated from each other by a gap of about 45 miles. The territory covers an area of 34,081 square miles, within which resides an ethnically diversified indigenous population of approximately 1,460,000, of whom 700,000 reside in the north and 760,000 in the south. The trust territory is administered as an integral part of adjacent Nigeria under a federal form of government, with a considerable degree of autonomy at the regional level. Under the Nigerian Constitution of 1954, the Southern Cameroons became a quasi-federal territory with its own legislature and Executive Council within the Federation of Nigeria, while the Northern Cameroons remained a part of Northern Nigeria and gained increased representation in the northern legislature.

During 1956 the Trusteeship Council agreed with the recommendation of the 1955 Visiting Mission that no precipitate decision should be made with respect to: (1) the complete integration of the Northern Cameroons into the Northern Region of Nigeria, (2) the union between the Northern and Southern Cameroons, or (3) the unification of trust territories of British and French Cameroons. Instead the Council suggested that the United Kingdom, as the administering authority, should continue to educate the inhabitants of the territory politically so that they may later decide for themselves on their political future. It is expected that a constitutional conference will be held during the summer of 1957 to review the present constitution and to work out further measures of self-government for the inhabit-

ants of the territory. It had been scheduled for 1956 but was postponed pending new elections.

During the consideration of other political developments in the territory, the Trusteeship Council noted with satisfaction: (1) that secret balloting will soon replace the "whispering" method of voting used in primaries in the Southern Cameroons, (2) the progress achieved in the field of local government in both the Southern and Northern Cameroons, (3) an increase in the salaries of civil servants and an improvement of conditions of service, and (4) the complete separation in the Southern Cameroons between the executive and judicial branches of local government organizations. On the other hand, the Council urged the administering authority to continue its efforts in extending the franchise to women and in developing local government.

The Council welcomed the economic and social developments brought about in the territory but hoped that progress would continue, especially with respect to the development of cooperatives, diversification of crops and increased production of export crops, improvement of indigenous methods of farming, the development of a livestock industry, and the continued development of hydroelectric power. In the social field, the political maturity of the people—as exemplified in their complete freedom of expression, assembly and religious worship—was commended, as well as the improvement of the status of women. A recommendation urging the complete abolition of corporal punishment was reiterated. Because the rate of educational development has been relatively slow compared to political advancement, the Council recommended that increased attention be paid to school facilities and funds for education, and also recommended that public opinion be impressed with the need for a more rapid rate of development.

Togoland Questions

During 1956 considerable progress was noted toward the attainment by two West African trust territories of the objectives of independence or increased self-government under the Trusteeship System. In one case the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly took significant and unprecedented action, recommending the termination of the trusteeship agreement for the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration and its union with a neighboring country about to achieve its independence. In another case the United Nations witnessed the attainment by the inhabitants of the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration of increasing

self-government and consequent progress toward the objectives set forth in article 76 of the United Nations Charter.

On December 13, 1956, the General Assembly overwhelmingly recommended (64 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions) the termination of the trusteeship for the Trust Territory of Togoland under British administration, and its union with a free and independent Gold Coast (Ghana) to become effective during March 1957. This action followed long and serious consideration of the question of the future of Togoland and the freely expressed choice by the majority of the inhabitants of this territory in a U.N.-supervised plebiscite on May 9, 1956. The U.N. Plebiscite Commissioner supervised the conduct of this plebiscite and reported that it had been held in an atmosphere of freedom, impartiality, and fairness, and that of 160,587 voters, 58 percent (93,095) favored union with the Gold Coast while 42 percent (67,492) voted in favor of separation and continued trusteeship. A large majority of those opposing this action consisted of members of a tribe of Ewe-speaking people from Southern Togoland. This tribe also inhabits territory westward and southward into the Gold Coast and eastward into Togoland under French administration. Many favored independence for both British and French Togoland while others favored a federal form of government in Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast) rather than the unitary form now envisaged.

During the discussions on the future of British Togoland in the General Assembly, petitioners representing these various groups spoke both for and against the union of the territory with an independent Ghana. However, final U.N. action was based on the free choice of a majority of the people as to their political future after their attainment of the prerequisites necessary to govern themselves as an independent nation. The United States strongly supported this action but stressed the necessity and importance for all groups of the population to work together after the termination of the trusteeship agreement, and to prove themselves to be "responsible, progressive, and politically mature" and consequently able to "play a major role as a strong, free, and democratic state which can be an example for the entire free world"; thus as a result of the request of the United Kingdom to the United Nations to consider the political future of British Togoland, a territory was removed for the first time from the Trusteeship System and is pursuing its future course, as a result of its own choice, united with the larger independent nation.

Following the announcement by the Government of France during the summer of 1956 that a referendum would shortly be conducted in the Trust Territory of Togoland under French administration to ascertain the wishes of the inhabitants on the granting of increased self-government under a new statute or continuation of the Trustee-

ship System, a referendum was held in the territory on October 28, 1956. France had requested the Trusteeship Council to send a U.N. mission to the territory to witness the referendum procedure, but the request was defeated by a tie vote in the Trusteeship Council. The United States voted in favor of this request but indicated certain reservations.

Early in 1957 at the request of the Trusteeship Council, the General Assembly considered the results of the referendum which had been held on October 28, 1956. The alternatives presented to the people were (1) the acceptance of the statute defined by French Decree 56–847 of August 24, 1956, and the end of the trusteeship regime, or (2) continuance of the trusteeship regime established by the agreement of December 13, 1946. A large majority of the population voted in favor of the first alternative: out of a total of 437,459 registered voters, there were 335,798 valid ballots cast, with 313,539 (93.4 percent) favoring the first alternative and 22,266 (6.6 percent) favoring the second alternative. In a long and detailed debate on the results of this referendum, during which petitioners from the territory expressed their views on all aspects of the problem, the General Assembly considered a French request to terminate the trusteeship agreement on the ground that a full measure of self-government had been attained by the trust territory. A resolution was adopted (53 (U.S.) to 16, with 7 abstentions) which noted with satisfaction the reforms introduced in consequence of the new political statute as representing a significant step in the achievement of the objectives of article 76 of the Charter and the trusteeship agreement and called for the reconstitution of the Legislative Assembly on the basis of universal adult suffrage. The members of the General Assembly were reluctant to accept the results of the referendum as constituting a basis for termination of the trusteeship agreement before ascertaining the extent to which the objective of self-government has been realized in practice under the new statute, and how governmental institutions established under it are operating in realization of the Charter objectives.

The General Assembly therefore accepted an invitation from the French and Togolese Governments to send a six-member commission to French Togoland to examine, in the light of the discussions in the Trusteeship Committee and the General Assembly, the entire situation in the territory resulting from the practical application of the new statute. Members of the Commission designated by the President are: Canada, Denmark, Guatemala, Liberia, the Philippines, and Yugoslavia.

As a result of the views expressed by General Assembly members, the French Government temporarily withdrew its request for termina-

tion of the trusteeship agreement pending U.N. consideration of the Commission's report.

The Commission's report, together with the observations and suggestions of the members of the Commission, is to be sent to the Trusteeship Council in 1957 for study and for a report to the General Assembly at its 12th session.

SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS FOR STUDENTS FROM TRUST TERRITORIES AND NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

U.S. Awards to Students From Trust Territories

Again during 1956 the United States continued to cooperate, under Public Law 402, 80th Congress (Smith-Mundt Act), with the United Nations in making available to qualified students from trust territories opportunities for educational advancement in U.S. universities. Scholarship awards which included funds for necessary travel, maintenance, orientation, and tuition for the 1956–57 academic year were granted to students from New Guinea, British Cameroons, and British Togoland, and two students from Italian Somaliland already studying in the United States were granted tuition, partial maintenance, and extended travel grants. In addition, the travel grant of one student from Italian Somaliland was extended and two students, one from British Cameroons and one from French Togoland, were granted full renewals for the current year.

At the end of 1956, the U.N. Secretary-General was again informed that five scholarship awards would be available to enable students from trust territories to pursue studies in U.S. educational institutions during the 1957–58 academic year.

The General Assembly at its 11th session adopted a resolution (55 to 3, with 13 (U.S.) abstentions), which requested member states administering trust territories to take the necessary steps to insure that scholarship and training facilities offered by member states are utilized by the inhabitants of trust territories, and to grant every assistance to those granted scholarships or fellowships. In addition, the Trusteeship Council was requested to consider during its 1957 sessions the question of how scholarships and training facilities are being utilized by inhabitants of trust territories, and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its next session.

U.S. Scholarships Available to Students From Non-Self-Governing Territories

The United States reported to the Secretary-General in 1956 that although no special program would at present be established, scholarships were currently available to students from certain of the non-self-governing territories under the regular U.S. International Educational Exchange Program, under the program of the U.S. International Cooperation Administration, as well as many private grants. This report was in response to a 1954 General Assembly resolution, which has been reiterated in subsequent years, including 1956, suggesting that member states make available educational opportunities in the form of scholarships to qualified students from non-self-governing territories.

U.N. Technical Assistance Scholarships

During 1956, pursuant to a resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, the United Nations awarded two technical assistance fellowships in the fields of public administration and child welfare to students from the Virgin Islands under U.S. administration. These fellowships, however, will not be taken up until 1957. A scholarship of another student from the Virgin Islands to study child welfare was extended for an additional year. In addition one fellowship in the field of social welfare was awarded to a student from the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands under U.S. administration to study adult education and community development. The students from the Virgin Islands will study in Canada while the Pacific Islander will pursue his studies in the Philippines.

NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES OTHER THAN TRUST TERRITORIES

Under chapter XI of the Charter, U.N. members having or assuming responsibility for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet achieved a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost their well-being.

In accordance with these provisions of the Charter, such U.N. members have undertaken to transmit annually information of a technical nature on the social, educational, and economic conditions in their non-self-governing territories except for those administered under the Trusteeship System, where more comprehensive reports are required. This information is transmitted in accordance with a topical outline, divided into social, economic, and educational sections, which is known as the Standard Form. An optional category is also included in the Standard Form providing for the voluntary submission of political information on territories under its administration, and some administering members have, on occasion, done so. It is the practice of the United States to submit such information. Every year the Secretary-General prepares full summaries and analyses of the information transmitted in respect to one field (education, social conditions, and economic conditions). Summaries and analyses of significant changes for the other two fields are prepared in the intervening years.

Committee on Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories

The Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories has been in existence since 1946 when it was created by the General Assembly to consider the information on economic, social, and educational conditions in non-self-governing territories submitted under the provisions of chapter XI of the Charter by members of the United Nations administering such territories. The committee's terms of reference, set by the General Assembly, permit it to examine information submitted under article 73(e) of the Charter and to make procedural and substantive recommendations to the General Assembly relating to the functional fields of economic, social, and educational conditions generally, but not concerning particular territories. Membership on the committee is evenly divided between those members of the United Nations administering non-self-governing territories (Australia, Belgium, France, New Zealand, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States) and an equal number elected by Committee IV on behalf of the General Assembly. In 1956 the nonadministering members of the Committee on Information were Burma, China, Guatemala, India, Iraq, Peru, and Venezuela. At the 11th General Assembly Guatemala was reelected to the committee and Ceylon was elected to succeed Burma. The present term of the committee extends through 1958.

Since 1952 Belgium has declined to attend the committee on the ground that its existence is not justified in the language of the Charter. Britain and France have expressed reservations about the committee's existence, and have at various times indicated that they would withdraw from the committee if its present terms of reference are in any way expanded. Most of the nonadministering members of the committee would like to increase its authority to deal with the affairs of non-self-governing territories, and from time to time one or more of them introduce draft resolutions, usually of a procedural nature, designed to accomplish this end. The United States has tried to play a moderating role with the aim of keeping the committee in existence in a form which will permit the continued cooperation of both the administering and nonadministering members.

Each year the committee gives special attention to one of the three functional fields of economic, educational, or social conditions on a rotational basis. At its 1956 meeting the field of special concentration was educational conditions in the territories, and the committee prepared a special report on this subject. The committee at its 1956 session adopted a draft resolution calling for General Assembly approval of the special report on educational conditions mentioned above. On February 20, 1957, the General Assembly voted approval and requested states responsible for the administration of non-self-governing territories to bring the report to the attention of educational authorities in the territories.

This special report on educational conditions was drafted by a subcommittee consisting of the representatives of Australia, Burma, China, France, Guatemala, India, Iraq, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Peru, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Venezuela. It was aided in its task by special reports prepared by the Secretariat based on the information transmitted on educational conditions in the territories by administering members, and by special studies on educational problems in the territories prepared by UNESCO.

The report notes that educational advancement has been considerable in a number of territories in recent years, particularly in the extension of primary education. Sections of the report also stress the importance of adult education, vocational and technical education, teacher training, and local participation in the development of education. The report reaffirms the committee's past emphasis on the principle of equality of opportunity in the field of education for all racial, religious, and cultural groups. The report concludes with favorable mention of the cooperation which various specialized agencies have provided in promoting educational advancement in the non-self-governing territories.

Resolutions on Non-Self-Governing Territories Dealt With by the Eleventh General Assembly

The 11th General Assembly considered seven draft resolutions from Committee IV (Trusteeship) dealing with non-self-governing territories. The first of these recommended that administering members of the United Nations consider the formulation of plans with targets and dates for various aspects of educational development including the establishment or extension of universal free and compulsory primary education and general literacy, and invited those members to include in their yearly reports to the Secretary-General information on such plans and the success achieved in their implementation. This resolution, which was introduced by Guatemala, Iraq, India, and Yugoslavia, was adopted by a vote of 55 to 5, with 9 (U.S.) abstentions.

The second resolution encouraged the establishment in non-self-governing territories, where they do not yet exist, of local bodies staffed by indigenous personnel to formulate educational policy and to implement educational programs, including the technical assistance programs of the United Nations and its specialized agencies; urged all members to increase and simplify scholarship programs for residents of non-self-governing territories; and expressed the hope that administering members would study the possibility of inviting United Nations members located in the same regions to appoint experts to contribute by their knowledge to the meetings of intergovernmental agencies of regional cooperation. This resolution, which had been introduced by 16 Latin American members and Spain, was adopted by a vote of 56 to 0, with 18 (U.S.) abstentions. The United States abstained on this resolution because it considered it inappropriate for the General Assembly to make recommendations concerning the working procedures of independent regional organizations.

The third resolution invited the Secretary-General in collaboration with the specialized agencies concerned to prepare for the 14th General Assembly (1959) a report on the progress that has taken place in the non-self-governing territories, in those fields on which information has been transmitted, in accordance with the objectives set forth in chapter XI of the Charter since the establishment of the United Nations, and invited the administering members to include in the information regularly transmitted by them under article 73(e) such data as may be practicable for the preparation of the report. This resolution, after amendments introduced by the United States, was adopted by a vote of 65 (U.S.) to 3, with 3 abstentions.

A fourth resolution largely procedural in nature was adopted by a vote of 48 to 15 (U.S.), with 7 abstentions. This resolution decided that future communications transmitted to the Secretary-General by members concerning the cessation of the transmission of information on a non-self-governing territory should be referred directly to the General Assembly rather than to the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories, as has been the procedure in the past. The United States opposed this resolution on the ground that past procedures concerning cessation have been adequate and worked well, and that the new procedure would add to the burdens of Committee IV and tend to lessen the usefulness of the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories. Two further resolutions of a routine nature were adopted; one approved the special report on education prepared by the Committee on Information and requested the members concerned to bring it to the attention of the authorities responsible for education in the non-self-governing territories, and a second invited the Secretary-General to prepare a report for the 12th General Assembly showing the comparative costs of the various methods of reproducing the summaries of information from non-self-governing territories.

Finally a resolution of considerable importance, introduced by Ceylon, Greece, Liberia, Nepal, and Syria, was defeated in the General Assembly after having been adopted by a narrow margin in Committee IV. This resolution would have established an *ad hoc* committee to study the application of the provisions of chapter XI of the Charter in the case of members newly admitted to the United Nations and in particular the replies to the Secretary-General's letter of February 24, 1956, by which the new members were requested to inform him whether they were responsible for the administration of any territories referred to in article 73. The resolution also invited the new members of the United Nations to transmit in writing to the Secretary-General by June 1, 1957, statements of their views, together with the reasons therefor, regarding the applicability of chapter XI to them. This question was debated at length in Committee IV on the basis of the position taken by Portugal, which as a new member had replied to the Secretary-General's letter that it had no territories falling under the provisions of article 73. The United States opposed this resolution both in Committee IV and in the General Assembly on the ground that the action proposed would subject the constitutions of member states to examination by the General Assembly, and that it would serve no useful purpose as it was doubtful that such a committee could elicit any new significant information which is not presently available to the United Nations. The United States went on to point out, however, that to ignore chapter XI would

be to weaken the whole fabric of the Charter. Several delegations also argued that the procedure proposed was discriminatory against the new members since the listing of non-self-governing territories subject to their jurisdiction, submitted by the original members of the United Nations in 1946, had been accepted without question or investigation. On the other hand, some delegates believed that the action from which the resolution arose seriously undermined the intent of chapter XI. The resolution was adopted in Committee IV by a vote of 35 to 33 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions.

In the General Assembly it was decided by a vote of 38 (U.S.) to 34, with 6 abstentions, that this draft resolution was an "important question" within the provisions of article 18 (2) of the Charter requiring a two-thirds majority for adoption. The resolution was then rejected by a vote of 35 to 35 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

South-West Africa, a former German colony which was placed under the administration of the Union of South Africa as a League of Nations mandate following World War I, is the only such Territory that has neither attained its independence nor been made a trust territory under the United Nations supervision. In 1950 the question of the Union's international responsibilities was referred to the International Court of Justice after the Union disagreed with a General Assembly resolution that the territory should be placed under the trusteeship system. The Court, in its advisory opinion of July 11, 1950 (International Status of South-West Africa), concluded: (1) the Union continues to have the international obligations stated in article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in the mandate for South-West Africa, as well as the obligation to transmit petitions from the inhabitants of that territory, the supervisory functions to be exercised by the United Nations, to which the annual reports and petitions are to be submitted; (2) the provisions of chapter XII of the Charter do not impose upon the Union a legal obligation to place the territory under the Trusteeship System; (3) the Union acting alone has not the competence to modify the international status of the territory, and the competence to determine and modify the international status of the territory rests with the Union of South Africa acting with the consent of the United Nations. Successive U.N. committees have been unsuccessful in their efforts since 1951 to negotiate with the Union an agreement that would implement the Court's decision.

In 1953 the General Assembly established a seven-member standing committee on South-West Africa and gave it the task of examining any available reports, petitions, or other information on that territory with or without the Union's cooperation. The United States is a member of this committee. During the 11th session of the General Assembly in 1956, the committee was enlarged to nine members, with the appointment of Ethiopia and Finland as new members. Henceforth one-third of the membership will expire at the end of each year when new members will be appointed by the General Assembly. In 1956, as in the past, the committee functioned without the cooperation of the Union of South Africa. The committee's 1956 report, which criticized several aspects of the Union's administration of the territory, was approved by the 11th General Assembly by a vote of 47 (U.S.) to 0, with 16 abstentions.

In 1956 the International Court of Justice responded to a request of the General Assembly for an opinion on the question: "Is it consistent with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 11 July 1950 for the Committee on South West Africa, established by General Assembly resolution 749A(VIII) of 28 November 1953, to grant oral hearings to petitioners on matters relating to the Territory of South West Africa?" The Court's opinion was that the granting of such hearings to petitioners would be consistent with its advisory opinion of July 1950. The General Assembly accepted and endorsed this opinion and authorized the committee on South-West Africa to grant oral hearings to petitioners. Committee IV of the General Assembly also heard statements of two petitioners and the General Assembly transmitted them for consideration to the committee on South-West Africa by a vote of 54 to 4, with 3 abstentions including the United States.

In other actions regarding South-West Africa, the General Assembly recommended that South-West Africa be placed under trusteeship; requested the Secretary-General to explore ways to achieve a satisfactory solution of the question of South-West Africa in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice; and requested the Committee on South-West Africa to advise on the legal remedy available to U.N. organs, to U.N. members, or to former members of the League of Nations to insure that South Africa fulfills its mandate obligations pending the placement of South-West Africa under trusteeship. The United States voted for the first resolution, abstained on the second because of the Secretary-General's reluctance to undertake this additional task, and abstained on the last because of its membership on the committee of South-West Africa. The South African delegation took no part in the debates on South-West Africa in Committee

IV, as a result of the South African decision to reduce its participation in the 11th General Assembly to representation only on Committee V (Administrative and Budgetary Matters). (See Part I, p. 117.)

WORK OF THE REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

During 1956 the United States continued to participate in the work of the two regional commissions—the Caribbean Commission and the South Pacific Commission—which are concerned with nonindependent areas of the Caribbean and South Pacific regions. The member governments of the Caribbean Commission are France, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These four Governments, together with Australia and New Zealand, constitute the six members of the South Pacific Commission.

Both Commissions are advisory and consultative bodies on economic and social matters to the participating governments and to the 32 local governments in the two regions. Areas of United States interest in the two regions are the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands of the United States, Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. Each Commission is assisted by two auxiliary bodies—a research council and a regional conference of local representatives. Each research council is composed of scientists and technicians who advise the Commissions on a wide range of technical subjects. The regional conferences, with representatives from the nonmetropolitan areas, provide an opportunity for the peoples of these two areas to discuss their economic and social problems and to share their experience and knowledge. A conference recommendation, in turn, provides one of the fundamental bases for the work programs of the two Commissions. Permanent secretariats, which provide informational and advisory services, are maintained by both Commissions. The headquarters of the Caribbean Commission is at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, and that of the South Pacific Commission at Nouméa, New Caledonia.

While these Commissions are not part of the United Nations system, their aims are fully consistent with those of the United Nations Charter. There is a full exchange of information between the United Nations, the specialized agencies and the two Commissions, and there is cooperation on matters of regional interest. Representatives of the United Nations and the specialized agencies have attended the regional conferences of local peoples and technical

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meetings held under the auspices of the two Commissions, while the specialized agencies have cosponsored technical conferences and training courses in their respective areas.

Caribbean Commission

During 1956 the Commission again concentrated on agricultural, fishery and forestry development, industrial development, housing, and education. Two regular meetings were held, the 22d in French Guiana May 24–30, and the 23d in Barbados, B.W.I., December 10–15.

The principal activities of the Commission were carried out through a series of technical conferences and technical assistance projects. A technical conference on cooperatives was held under joint FAO–Caribbean Commission auspices in British Guiana in 1956. The conference realized its objectives to pool the experiences of cooperative workers in the Caribbean area, to facilitate the exchange of information on the subject, and to find out where future investigation needs to be made. Recommendations of the conference included the encouragement of cooperatives through increased training facilities, close coordination of government departments related to rural development, establishment of local marketing cooperatives, and the provision of credit by governments to the cooperatives movement. In response to a popular demand in the Caribbean region, the Commission published jointly with FAO a "Handbook for Cooperative Personnel in the Caribbean."

For the fourth year a home economist assigned by FAO to the Commission assisted the local governments in holding training courses for home economists, nutritionists, and social welfare workers in the Caribbean. During the year an agricultural credit expert, on loan to the Commission by the FAO, began a survey of agricultural credit needs of the area.

Under its own auspices the Commission convened a Conference on Town and Country Development Planning to assist the local governments in the urgent problem of housing the increasing population of the area. This conference recommended *inter alia* that the Caribbean governments should encourage local persons to obtain academic and professional training in planning, and that there be complete integration between the physical, economic, and social sectors of the community from the earliest stage of planning. The Commission was asked to use its good offices to stimulate a center for postgraduate training in planning in the area, and to arrange study tours to Puerto Rico in order that Caribbean peoples could benefit from observation of what is being done under conditions similar to their own.

Another one of the series of on-the-spot technical demonstrations of tropical products was held in Jamaica. The purpose of this tour was to demonstrate the latest methods and techniques in coffee propagation, cultivation, harvesting, roasting, grading, and marketing.

The Commission again cooperated with the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) of the United States and the Government of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in the regionwide vocational training program conducted by ICA in Puerto Rico. During 1956 over 100 students from British, French, and Netherlands Caribbean areas were trained in public health, community education, social work, and cooperatives, plus teacher training in agriculture, trades, and industrial education.

A low-cost housing project was continued in the Caribbean area by ICA, working directly with the Caribbean Commission. Two experts were assigned to advise and assist the local governments in the construction of low-cost housing. Following the destruction by hurricane "Betsy," an architect was loaned to the Commission by ICA on an emergency basis to advise the French Department of Guadeloupe on the reconstruction of hurricane-proof houses, schools and public buildings.

The consultative, advisory, and informational services of the secretariat were used increasingly in 1956 by governments and businessmen. The animal and plant diseases reporting services continued to supply cabled information on the outbreak of plant or animal diseases in the Caribbean.

Two publication exchange services were started in the secretariat as a result of cocoa and banana field demonstration tours in 1955. In addition, the agricultural section of the secretariat obtained cocoa clonal planting material for several areas. As a result of the banana spraying demonstration project of 1955, the Commission formed a committee in Trinidad which is experimenting with a new technique of oil-based spraying of bananas and other crops.

South Pacific Commission

The steady achievements of the South Pacific Commission in the economic development, social development, and health fields continued in 1956. Priority was again given to assisting territorial administrations requesting services of experts engaged in various Commission projects. While some of the Commission's projects are of necessity long-range in character, each has come progressively to reflect where possible a "village level approach."

The Commission held its 15th session at Suva, Fiji, from May 1 to 6, and its 16th session at headquarters in New Caledonia from

October 18 to November 8. The South Pacific Research Council did not hold a meeting during the year.

The development of fisheries throughout the Pacific continued in 1956. The Commission's fisheries expert assisted the territories of Papua, Australian New Guinea, the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides, and the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, giving practical demonstrations and advice, and collaborating with individual territories upon a wide range of fisheries subjects. In November 1956 the Commission, in cooperation with the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) commenced its first training course for Pacific Islanders. Twenty-five trainees, six from territories under United States administration, participated in this 19-week course, which was designed to train personnel for the territories in basic knowledge of fisheries and related skills.

The last phase of the subsistence agricultural project was completed in 1956 when the Commission's agriculturist finished the survey of the various types of indigenous subsistence agriculture in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and Guam. This officer also visited the New Hebrides to make a preliminary study of a plan for agricultural development of this territory.

An outstanding event of the calendar year under review was the convening of the third session of the South Pacific Conference at Suva, Fiji, from April 23 to May 4. Representatives of peoples from 17 dependent territories and the Kingdom of Tonga were present to discuss and formulate recommendations on various aspects of health, economic development, and social development matters. Recommendations of the conference have been associated with the Commission's work program, where practical.

The Commission's cooperatives officer visited Fiji, Western Samoa, American Samoa, Tahiti, the Cook Islands, and Tonga to survey cooperatives and credit unions. A monthly information bulletin on the cooperatives movement is now being circulated by the Commission to all South Pacific territories. Four handbooks concerning the economic and social surveys necessary to the establishment of any cooperative system have been prepared.

Technical problems relating to individual territories were discussed by the pest and diseases officer on his visits to Fiji, American Samoa, Western Samoa, and the Australian and Netherlands sections of New Guinea in 1956. The Commission continued its research in cooperation with the Rockefeller Foundation on the study of the rhinoceros beetle which attacks the coconut palm.

The South Pacific Literature Bureau continued its basic work in preparing and publishing simple books and leaflets suitable for territorial use. Visits were made to Western Samoa and American

Samoa to advise on the establishment of book selling and library facilities in the islands. Visual aids, such as filmstrips, and posters for use in health and agricultural extension work in the islands have been produced. The film and filmstrip appraisal libraries continued services to territories throughout the year.

The filariasis expert continued work on this project conducting surveys in the Cook Islands, Western Samoa, and New Caledonia, and a nutrition team completed its preliminary work of investigating dietary habits of Pacific islanders. FAO made available the dietician-nutritionist to conduct nutritional surveys among nursing mothers and young children. The food technologist prepared a comprehensive report on his work in various territories visited during the calendar year including New Guinea, Guam, New Caledonia, French Oceania, and other island groups.

A health educator from the World Health Organization (WHO) assisted the secretariat in completing the health education survey of the region. He toured the New Hebrides, French Oceania, American Samoa, Western Samoa, and Fiji. Growing out of this survey will be a health education course for Pacific Islanders to be held at New Caledonia under the cosponsorship of WHO and the Commission.

PART IV

Legal and Constitutional Developments

LEGAL and constitutional developments in the United Nations during the year 1956 were not confined to those bodies concerned particularly with legal matters—the International Court of Justice, the International Law Commission, and Committee VI of the General Assembly. Matters involving the development of the rule of law and the interpretation of legal instruments were important elements of questions dealt with in other bodies of the United Nations. The account which appears earlier in this volume of the experience of the United Nations in dealing with the military actions against Egypt and Hungary is one of international effort to build up and strengthen a world order based on principles of justice and international law. Throughout the consideration of both of these matters, important questions of law arose to affect the consideration of and decisions taken by the United Nations bodies concerned. Legal questions have been of primary importance particularly with regard to the events in Egypt. The terms of the 1888 Suez Canal Convention have been an important feature of the Security Council's consideration of the Suez Canal question. The provisions of the Israel-Egypt Armistice Agreement of 1949 have provided a basis for the resolutions of the General Assembly with respect to the military actions in Egypt. Also, as a part of this same problem, rules of international law regarding international waterways and the exercise of the right of innocent passage have been considered in relation to the question of the withdrawal of forces from land areas bordering the Gulf of Aqaba.

As has been related in preceding parts of this report, the General Assembly during its 11th session considered on several occasions questions of interpretation of the United Nations Charter, for example, the question of the applicability of article 2, paragraph 7, which prohibits United Nations intervention "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state," in the consideration of the question of Algeria. The Assembly's Committee IV considered

important questions of Charter interpretation as they arose in relation to the question of termination of the United Nations trusteeship of British-administered Togoland, to the supervision of the mandate for South-West Africa, and to the obligations assumed by member states under chapter XI of the Charter regarding non-self-governing territories.

In the present section of the report there are reviewed the legal developments that occurred in those United Nations bodies concerned particularly with legal matters.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

During 1956 the International Court of Justice delivered two advisory opinions. Four contentious cases were ordered removed from the list of cases before the Court, and the Court issued orders pertaining to the written proceedings in two other contentious cases.

Advisory Opinions

ADMISSIBILITY OF HEARINGS OF PETITIONERS BY THE COMMITTEE ON SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

A resolution of the 10th General Assembly requested the Court to give an advisory opinion on the following question:

> Is it consistent with the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice of 11 July 1950 for the Committee on South West Africa, established by General Assembly resolution 749A(VIII) of 28 November 1953, to grant oral hearings to petitioners on matters relating to the Territory of South West Africa?

Written statements in the case were submitted by the Governments of the United States and the Republic of China; the Government of the United Kingdom delivered an oral statement during the public hearing held by the Court. In its written statement the United States Government argued in favor of the right of the South-West Africa committee to grant oral hearings to petitioners.

In its opinion, delivered on June 1, 1956, the Court recalled that in its earlier opinion of July 11, 1950, it had concluded that South-West Africa continues to be a territory under the international mandate and that the mandatory power continues to have the obligations stated in article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant and in the mandate, as well as the obligation to transmit reports and petitions

and to submit to the supervision of the General Assembly. The Court recalled that in its earlier opinion it had stated that the degree of supervision to be exercised by the General Assembly should not exceed that which applied under the Mandates System and that it should conform as far as possible to the procedure followed by the Council of the League of Nations. In summary the Court observed that "the general purport and meaning of the Opinion of the Court of 11 July 1950 is that the paramount purpose underlying the taking over by the General Assembly of the United Nations of the supervisory functions in respect of the Mandate for South West Africa formerly exercised by the Council of the League of Nations was to safeguard the sacred trust of civilization through the maintenance of effective international supervision of the administration of the Mandated Territory."

After noting that oral hearings had not been granted to petitioners by the Permanent Mandates Commission at any time during the regime of the League of Nations, the Court expressed the opinion that the League Council, which had introduced the right of petition into the Mandates System, was competent to authorize the Permanent Mandates Commission to grant oral hearings to petitioners, had it seen fit to do so. The Court observed that the General Assembly had replaced the Council of the League in the exercise of authority conferred upon the Council by the League Covenant and the mandate, and that the Assembly in carrying out its supervisory functions had the same authority as the Council. The Court rejected the argument that its 1950 opinion should be interpreted as having been intended to restrict the activity of the General Assembly to measures which had actually been applied by the League of Nations, and concluded by holding that "it would not be inconsistent with its Opinion of 11 July 1950 for the General Assembly to authorize a procedure for the grant of oral hearings by the Committee on South West Africa to petitioners who had already submitted written opinions: provided that the General Assembly was satisfied that such a course was necessary for the maintenance of effective international supervision of the administration of the Mandated Territory." The Court's opinion was reached by a vote of 8 to 5.

JUDGMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE TRIBUNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION (ILO) UPON COMPLAINTS MADE AGAINST THE UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION (UNESCO)

On October 23, 1956, the Court delivered an advisory opinion that had been requested by the Executive Board of the United Nations

Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The request for the advisory opinion constituted a challenge to the jurisdiction of the Administrative Tribunal of the International Labor Organization in four cases involving complaints against UNESCO which had been brought by four former UNESCO employees. These four persons, who were United States nationals, had been employed by UNESCO under fixed term contracts which had expired and had not been renewed by the Director General of UNESCO. The Director General had refused to renew the contracts of these four employees and had explained his refusal on the ground that the failure of the four persons to appear before the U.S. International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board did not represent conduct consistent with the high standards of integrity required of those employed by UNESCO. Subsequently the four former employees brought complaints before the Administrative Tribunal of the ILO, the jurisdiction of this Tribunal having been recognized by UNESCO under article II, paragraph 5 of the statute of the Tribunal as extending to hearing "complaints alleging non-observance, in substance or in form, of the terms of appointment of officials and of provisions of the Staff Regulations" of UNESCO.

The ILO Administrative Tribunal delivered judgments on the four complaints, in which it declared itself competent to entertain the complaints, ruled against UNESCO in finding that the Director General had acted illegally in failing to renew the contracts in question and ordered that the contracts be reinstated or damages in the approximate amount of $51,000 be awarded. In appealing these decisions the UNESCO Executive Board acted pursuant to article XII of the statute of the ILO Administrative Tribunal which provides that: "In any case in which the Executive Board of an international organization . . . challenges a decision of the Tribunal confirming its jurisdiction, or considers that a decision of the Tribunal is vitiated by a fundamental fault in the procedure followed, the question of the validity of the decision given by the Tribunal shall be submitted by the Executive Board concerned, for an advisory opinion, to the International Court of Justice."

The UNESCO Executive Board submitted the following three questions to the Court for an advisory opinion:

I.—Was the Administrative Tribunal competent, under Article II of its Statute, to hear the complaints introduced against the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on 5 February 1955 by Messrs. Duberg and Leff and Mrs. Wilcox, and on 28 June 1955 by Mrs. Bernstein?

II.—In the case of an affirmative answer to question I:

(a) Was the Administrative Tribunal competent to determine whether the power of the Director-General not to renew fixed-term appointments has been exercised for the good of the service and in the interest of the Organization?

(b) Was the Administrative Tribunal competent to pronounce on the attitude which the Director-General, under the terms of the Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, ought to maintain in his relations with a Member State, particularly as regards the execution of the policy of the Government authorities of that Member State?

III.—In any case, what is the validity of the decisions given by the Administrative Tribunal in its Judgments Nos. 17, 18, 19 and 21?

A written statement in the case was submitted by UNESCO, to which was appended a statement of information formulated on behalf of the four persons in whose favor the judgments in question had been rendered. Written statements were also submitted on behalf of the Governments of the United States, France, the United Kingdom, and the Republic of China. The Court decided not to hold oral hearings, but the opportunity was afforded to the interested governments and organizations to submit in writing comments on the written statements. Although no written comments were submitted, supplementary observations formulated on behalf of the four former employees were transmitted to the Court by UNESCO.

In its written statement the United States Government argued against the jurisdiction of the ILO Administrative Tribunal in the four cases. The U.S. statement emphasized the limited jurisdiction of the ILO Tribunal and called for a strict observation of the jurisdictional limitations established in the controlling text. The statement argued that the provisions of article II(5) of the statute of the Tribunal (quoted above) could not confer jurisdiction in the four cases. The four UNESCO employees concerned had been serving under fixed term contracts, under which they were given no right or claim to any employment, whether by renewal or otherwise, extending beyond the expiration of the contract. There was thus no term of employment giving a right to renewal, and since the action complained of by the four former employees was nonrenewal of contract, there could be no term of employment whose nonobservance the Tribunal might have jurisdiction to consider. Having concluded that question I of the questions formulated by the UNESCO Executive Board should be answered in the negative, the U.S. statement went on to argue that questions II(a) and II(b) should also be answered in the negative. And with respect to question III, the statement concluded that the four judgments in question, being in excess of the jurisdiction conferred upon the ILO Administrative Tribunal by its Statute, and UNESCO's declaration accepting its competence, could not be regarded as valid.

In its opinion the Court upheld the jurisdiction of the ILO Administrative Tribunal in the four cases. At the outset the Court considered whether it should comply with the request for an opinion addressed to it by the UNESCO Executive Board. The Court noted

that under article XII of the statute of the Administrative Tribunal the opinion requested would be "binding" and it concluded that, even though the "binding" effect to be attached to its opinion went beyond the scope attributed by the Charter and the Court statute to an advisory opinion, this fact provided no reason for noncompliance with the request. The Court further concluded that there was no absence of equality before the Court between UNESCO and the officials concerned in the cases such as to require it to refuse to comply with the request for an opinion.

Turning to the first question put to it, the Court considered whether the examination of the complaints of the four former employees fell within the jurisdiction of the Administrative Tribunal under article II(5) of the Tribunal's Statute (quoted above). According to article II(5) there must be alleged "non-observance . . . of the terms of appointment of officials and of provision of the Staff Regulations." After observing that the complainants in the four cases had made allegations of nonobservance of terms of appointment and of provisions of the staff regulations, the Court proceeded to ascertain whether the terms and provisions invoked appeared to have a substantial and not merely an artificial connection with the refusal to renew the contracts. The Court stated that in determining the competence of the Administrative Tribunal, the contracts in question were to be considered not only by reference to their letter but also in relation to the actual conditions into which they had been entered and the place they occupied in the Organization. The Court then examined the practice in UNESCO with respect to fixed term contracts, as well as the relevant provisions of the staff regulations and staff rules, and concluded that there existed a legal relationship between a fixed term contract and its renewal. The Court concluded therefore that on the basis of this relationship, which constituted the legal basis of the complaints in question, the Administrative Tribunal was entitled to assume that the complaints required it to adjudicate on an alleged nonobservance of the terms of appointment. The Court further found that from the point of view of nonobservance of staff regulations as well, the Tribunal had been justified in confirming its jurisdiction. Therefore the Court decided, by 10 votes to 3, to give an affirmative answer to question I.

With regard to question II, the Court, by 9 votes to 4, was of the opinion that it was not in a position to answer this question. The Court reached this conclusion by noting, first, that the Court's opinion had been invoked solely by reference to article XII of the statute of the ILO Administrative Tribunal. The Court then took the position that question II did not fall within the grounds for challenge as laid down in Article XII. In response to question III,

the Court answered that, in view of its rejection of the contention relating to the jurisdiction of the ILO Administrative Tribunal which had been raised by the UNESCO Executive Board, the validity of the decisions in question was no longer open to challenge. This last answer was reached by the Court by a vote of 10 to 3.

Dissenting opinions were appended to the Court's Opinion by President Hackworth, Vice President Badawi, and Judges Read and Córdova. [See also Part V, p. 270.]

Contentious Cases

Proceedings were ended in four contentious cases which had been begun in 1955, by orders of the Court removing the cases from the list. In each the Court's order was based upon the fact that the respondent party had failed to accept the jurisdiction of the Court. Two of the cases had been brought by the United States, one against Czechoslovakia arising out of the *Aerial Incident of March 10, 1953*, when MIG aircraft coming from Czechoslovakia attacked two U.S. Air Force F–84 aircraft over the U.S. Zone of Germany. The other case which had been brought by the United States against the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, arose out of the *Aerial Incident of October 7, 1952*, when a U.S. Air Force B–29 aircraft was shot down by Soviet fighter aircraft off the Japanese Island of Hokkaido. The other two cases which were removed from the Court's list had been instituted by the United Kingdom against Argentina and Chile, and concerned questions relating to the possession of sovereignty over certain territories in the Antarctic and the sub-Antarctic.

Proceedings on the merits in the *Case of Certain Norwegian Loans*, which had been instituted by France against Norway on June 6, 1955, were suspended by the Court after the Norwegian Government on April 20, 1956, had filed a document setting out certain preliminary objections to the Court's jurisdiction. In its observations and submissions with respect to the objections raised by Norway, the French Government asked the Court to join the objections to the merits. In its order of September 28, 1956, the Court, noting that the Norwegian Government had no objection to the procedure, joined the objections to the merits and fixed time limits for the filing of further pleadings in the written proceedings. According to the schedule set out in this order, the final document in the written proceedings is to be filed by the Government of Norway on April 25, 1957.

On December 22, 1955, proceedings were begun by Portugal against India concerning the *Right of Passage Over Indian Territory* between the territory of Damão and the enclaved territories of Dadrá

and Nagar-Aveli. In its first order in the case, made on March 13, 1956, the Court, noting the appointment by the Government of India of its agent in the case, fixed time limits for the first two written pleadings. The memorial of the Government of Portugal was filed within the fixed time limit. On November 10, 1956, the agent of the Government of India by letter stated the intention of his Government to file a preliminary objection to the exercise of jurisdiction by the Court in the case and requested an extension of the time limit. After receiving the views of the Portuguese Government with respect to this request, the Court in its order of November 27, 1956, decided to "postpone to April 15, 1957 the time-limit for the filing of the Counter-Memorial or of the Preliminary Objection of the Government of the Republic of India."

WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

The eighth session of the International Law Commission was held in Geneva during the period April 23–July 4, 1956. The Commission devoted almost the whole of its session to bringing to a completion its work on the subject of the law of the sea. In so doing, the Commission was complying with a resolution adopted at the ninth (1954) Assembly session, which requested the Commission to complete its work on the regime of the high seas, regime of territorial waters, and on all related problems in time for the Assembly to consider them as a whole at its 11th (1956) session. The Commission's final report on the law of the sea was completed at its eighth session, and consists of a set of 73 draft articles concerning the law of the sea. Each article is accompanied by a commentary. The articles are divided into two parts, the first dealing with the territorial sea and the second with the high seas. The part on the territorial sea deals with (a) the juridical status of the territorial sea, of the air space over the territorial sea, and of its bed and subsoil, (b) the limits of the territorial sea, and (c) the right of innocent passage. Under the part on the high seas are covered (a) the general regime of the high seas, including the subjects of navigation, fishing, and submarine cables and pipelines, (b) contiguous zone, and (c) continental shelf. The Commission recommended that the "General Assembly should summon an international conference of plenipotentiaries to examine the law of the sea, taking account not only of the legal but also of the technical, biological, economic and political aspects of the problem,

and to embody the results of its work in one or more international conventions or such other instruments as it may deem appropriate."

In addition to its work on the law of the sea, the Commission briefly considered three other subjects on its agenda without taking any decisions with respect to them other than to request the special rapporteur on each subject to continue his work. These subjects were the law of treaties, state responsibility, and consular intercourse and immunities.

The Commission also considered the question of amending its statute to provide for the filling of casual vacancies in the membership of the Commission by the General Assembly rather than by the Commission itself, as is presently provided in the statute. The General Assembly at its 10th session had requested the Commission to express its opinion on this question. The Commission concluded that the method of filling casual vacancies should not be changed from that presently provided for in its statute.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY LEGAL COMMITTEE

By far the most important item on the agenda of Committee VI (Legal) at the 11th session of the General Assembly was the final report of the International Law Commission on the law of the sea. Other items on the committee's agenda occupied only a relatively small number of meetings, and a major part of the time of the committee during the 11th session was devoted to a consideration of the Law Commission's report. Committee VI had completed its agenda by the close of the first half of the session, when the Assembly recessed during the Christmas season.

First Committee VI recommended to the Assembly certain minor amendments to the Assembly's rules of procedure which had been made necessary by the Assembly's decision to change the name of the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee to Special Political Committee and to confer a permanent character on that committee.

Next the committee turned to the question of amending the International Law Commission's statute on filling casual vacancies in its membership. At the previous Assembly session the United States delegation had raised this matter in Committee VI, suggesting that in view of the longer terms of office of Commission members, which had been increased from 3 to 5 years, the Assembly rather than the Commission should fill casual vacancies. Action on this matter had been postponed by the committee to secure an expression of opinion by the International Law Commission. In view of the position

taken by the Commission that the method of filling casual vacancies should not be altered, as well as in view of the apparent lack of support in the committee for any change, the U.S. delegation did not reintroduce its proposal for amendment of the Commission's statute. and the committee therefore did not consider the item further.

Enlargement of the International Law Commission [1]

In view of the increase in membership of the United Nations, 15 Latin American governments and Spain had proposed that the 11th Assembly consider the question of enlarging the membership of the International Law Commission. During discussion of this question in Committee VI of the General Assembly the views expressed were overwhelmingly in favor of enlargement, and differences of view centered mainly around the size of the enlargement. There was also considerable discussion of the geographical distribution of the seats in an enlarged Commission. The position of the United States on the question was stated by Edward S. Greenbaum. Mr. Greenbaum first pointed out that it was the view of the United States Government that the increase in United Nations membership did not of itself necessarily require that the size of the International Law Commission be increased beyond its existing 15 members. It was the view of the United Nations that the requirement that there be "representation of the main forms of civilization and of the principal legal systems of the world" on the Commission could be met in a 15-member Commission. However, the United States felt that in the case of the Commission, taking into account the nature of the work assigned to it under its statute, a larger body need not necessarily be less able to function effectively. Mr. Greenbaum pointed out that the Commission differed from the International Court of Justice, which, we thought, would be seriously hampered in carrying out its judicial functions if it were enlarged. Taking into account the fact that most delegations had spoken in favor of enlargement, Mr. Greenbaum stated that the U.S. delegation would support an enlargement of six members. With regard to the question of geographic distribution of seats in an enlarged Commission, Mr. Greenbaum expressed the view that any prior agreement on geographic distribution of seats would be inconsistent with the terms of the Commission's statute, and he urged that the committee confine its action to a recommendation that the Commission be enlarged. Once the Assembly had decided to enlarge the Commission, Mr. Greenbaum pointed out, the elections would be held pursuant to the

[1] See Part I, p. 137.

terms of the Commission statute. In this connection Mr. Greenbaum referred to the statute directive that "in the Commission as a whole representation of the main forms of civilization and of the principal legal systems of the world should be assured," and he expressed the view that in the elections to an enlarged Commission the existing underrepresentation on the Commission of the legal systems of the African, Middle Eastern, and Asian areas should be corrected.

The resolution to amend the Commission's statute to increase the size of the Commission to 21 members was adopted by the committee by a vote of 68 (U.S.) to 0 with 1 abstention, and subsequently by the Assembly by a vote of 75 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention. Following upon the adoption of these amendments to the statute of the Commission, the Assembly proceeded to elect a new membership to succeed the 15 members whose terms expired at the end of 1956. The following 21 persons were elected for 5-year terms: Jean Spiropoulos (Greece), Radhabinod Pal (India), L. Padilla Nervo (Mexico), Georges Scelle (France), Gilberto Amado (Brazil), Douglas L. Edmonds (United States), F. V. Garcia-Amador (Cuba), Jaroslav Zourek (Czechoslovakia), Sir Gerald Fitzmaurice (United Kingdom), Grigory Tunkin (U.S.S.R.), Faris Bey el-Khouri (Syria), Ahmed Matine-Daftary (Iran), Milan Bartos (Yugoslavia), Abdullah El-Erian (Egypt), A. E. F. Sandström (Sweden), Kisaburo Yokota (Japan), Roberto Ago (Italy), Thanat Khoman (Thailand), Shushi Hsu (China), J. P. A. François (Netherlands), and Alfred von Verdross (Austria).

Report of the International Law Commission on the Law of the Sea

At the commencement of the debate on the report of the International Law Commission, the United States delegation with 18 cosponsors circulated a draft resolution providing for the convening of an international conference of plenipotentiaries to examine the law of the sea in accordance with the recommendation made by the Commission in its report. This draft resolution had been worked out prior to the opening of the General Assembly in extensive consultations which had been carried on by the United States Government with a large number of other governments. It was the view of the United States that decisions on the substance of the Commission's report should not be taken by the General Assembly at its 11th session, but that a special conference should be called where the proposals of the International Law Commission could be thoroughly and carefully examined after a sufficient period of time had elapsed

to enable governments to make thorough preparations for the conference.

The debate on the report in the committee was marked by a widespread participation of the committee members, evidence of the great importance which a great many governments attach to the problems relating to the law of the sea. While most delegations refrained from commenting in detail upon all aspects of the Commission's report, most of the statements consisted of a thorough exposition of each government's views upon the major problems involved, particularly those relating to the permissible extent of the exercise of jurisdiction over the seas off their coasts. There was no attempt during the committee's consideration of the item to reach decisions relating to the substance of any of the questions involved, there having been almost unanimous agreement with the view that more time was needed for governmental preparations and for diplomatic consultations before the attempt was made to work out in a conference solutions which would have the support of the great majority of the states of the world.

The United States position on the major questions relating to the law of the sea was stated during the committee's general debate by Edward S. Greenbaum. In his statement Mr. Greenbaum urged that support be given to the convening of the conference as provided for in the United States cosponsored draft resolution. At the same time he took the occasion to set forth the United States views on the points that had been most discussed during the preceding debate. Regarding the width of the territorial sea Mr. Greenbaum affirmed the continued adherence of the United States to the 3-mile limit, and he stated the view that international law does not require states to recognize more than 3 miles as the outer limit of territorial jurisdiction. He pointed out that those states that seek to justify extending the 3-mile limit must at the same time justify restricting the freedom of the seas. No reasons had been advanced, Mr. Greenbaum continued, that supported a conclusion that the 3-mile rule of international law must be changed. The problems that concerned coastal states, particularly those relating to the fish stocks off their coasts, could be met, he felt, by means other than through extensions of the territorial sea. Referring to the questions concerning high seas fisheries, Mr. Greenbaum noted particularly the concern expressed by coastal states over the possibility of depletion of these fisheries. He drew attention to the proposals of the International Law Commission concerning the conservation of the living resources of the high seas, which took into account the special interest of the coastal states, and he expressed the view that these proposals provided the basis for satisfactory agreement, under which all legitimate national interests in the fish

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stocks of the high seas would be taken into account. Mr. Greenbaum also discussed the question of the continental shelf and stressed the fact that claims by the United States to rights of jurisdiction over the shelf did not affect the character as high seas of the waters above the shelf.

No resolutions other than that cosponsored by the United States were introduced although several amendments were proposed. A revised draft of our resolution was subsequently introduced, incorporating much of the substance of the amendments which had been proposed; this draft was approved by the committee by a vote of 65 (U.S.) to 1, with no abstentions, and subsequently adopted in the plenary by a vote of 67 (U.S.) to 0, with 3 abstentions. Under this resolution the United Nations Secretary-General is requested to convoke early in March 1958 a conference on the law of the sea of all states members of the United Nations and specialized agencies. The site of the conference was left open, it having been understood that the Secretary-General would choose between Geneva and Rome, taking into account the comparative expense of holding the conference in the two cities.

Elimination or Reduction of Future Statelessness

The final item on the Legal Committee's agenda related to the report made by the Secretary-General under a ninth General Assembly resolution. In this resolution the Assembly requested the Secretary-General to convene a conference to conclude a convention for the reduction or elimination of future statelessness as soon as at least 20 states had communicated their willingness to cooperate in such a conference. The Secretary-General was requested to report on the matter to the 11th session of the General Assembly. His report that the required number of 20 states had not yet expressed a desire to take part in the proposed conference was simply noted by the General Assembly.

PART V

Budgetary, Financial, and Administrative Matters

THE regular United Nations budget for 1957 totals $49,088,050, which is $521,700 more than the comparable figure of $48,566,350 for 1956. The primary factors in this increase were costs which arose from the increased membership and from acceptance by the General Assembly of recommendations of the Salary Review Committee. As a separate measure the General Assembly decided to increase the U.N. Working Capital Fund from $20,000,000 to $22,000,000.

Obligations assumed by the United Nations incident to the crises in the Middle East and Hungary are being met outside the regular U.N. budget. The General Assembly authorized commitments to defray the cost of the U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF) through 1957 up to a limit of $16,500,000. It assessed $10,000,000 of this total against the entire U.N. membership on the basis of the regular scale of assessments by which the regular budget is raised and urged member governments to contribute the balance on a voluntary basis. As an interim and emergency measure, members were asked by the Secretary-General to advance funds to finance the clearance of the Suez Canal, and more than $10,000,000 has been advanced. No final plan for financing the clearance has yet been worked out. On the basis of an appeal by the General Assembly, about $7,000,000 was voluntarily contributed by member governments for assistance to Hungarian refugees.

With regard to the U.N. regular budget, the U.S. percentage contribution continues at 33.33 percent. The admission of 16 new members in 1955 and 4 in 1956, however, led the General Assembly to consider during its 11th session what adjustments should be made in the scale of assessments and to schedule a continued discussion of this matter at its 12th session.

The Assembly also accepted numerous recommendations of the Salary Review Committee which had made a comprehensive study of the common system of salaries and allowances used by the United Nations and most of the specialized agencies. Finally, the procedures

adopted in 1955 for equalizing salary and tax treatment among U.N. staff members were modified in 1956 to adjust certain inequities relating to state and local taxes.

BUDGETS

Regular Programs

Total assessments for 1957 in the amount of $93,238,166 were authorized during 1956 by the U.N. General Assembly and the representative assemblies of the eight specialized agencies for their regular programs financed from annual member contributions. The comparable figure for 1956 was $88,276,191. The increase of $4,961,975 reflects some declines in credits, generally rising costs, and expansion in selected activities.

In the United Nations the final budget appropriation for 1957 approved by the 11th General Assembly included funds for a revision of the salary and allowance system, resulting from the study of the Salary Review Committee. Also included were smaller increases in funds for activities away from Headquarters, especially in the information and economic and social fields.

Among the specialized agencies, a budget increase was scheduled in 1957 for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) of $1,142,047, and for the World Health Organization (WHO), $2,130,796. The increase in the assessed budget of WHO resulted in an increase in the effective working budget of about $500,000. Smaller increases were noted in the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the International Labor Organization (ILO), the World Meteorological Organization (WMO), and the Universal Postal Union (UPU). Two common factors in the increased budgets of these organizations are (1) moderate enlargement in their field work programs, and (2) price increases and the cost of meeting in-grade salary increments of the staff. In addition to these factors, UNESCO is developing a program of well-defined major projects such as the extension of primary education in Latin America, scientific research on arid lands, and mutual knowledge of Eastern and Western cultures. Also, this year the budget for UNESCO includes the first installment of repayment of loans obtained to build the new UNESCO headquarters office building in Paris. In the case of WHO, apart from strengthening of field personnel, the cost of additional

staff for the malaria eradication program and the peaceful use of atomic energy program accounts in large measure for the increase of its budget.

Voluntary Programs

In addition to the regular administrative budgets of the United Nations and the specialized agencies, which are financed through assessments on all members, there are several major operating programs financed by voluntary contributions. These include (1) the United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance (UNTA), (2) the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), (3) the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA), (4) the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and (5) the United Nations Refugee Fund (UNREF). The United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance operated at a level of approximately $29,000,000 in 1956. UNRWA requirements for fiscal year 1957 are approximately $25,000,000 for relief and $8,000,000 for rehabilitation; in its fiscal year 1956 it spent approximately $32,000,000. UNKRA, gradually phasing out, continued its program into fiscal year 1957 with estimated resources of $7,269,000. (No new contributions were sought.) In fiscal year 1956 the agency disbursed $26,000,000, although much of this total represents payments for projects instituted in prior years. UNICEF operated at a level of approximately $16,000,000 in 1956. Total requirements of the United Nations Refugee Fund, which was established for the 4-year period of 1955–58 by action of the Ninth General Assembly, amounts to $16,000,000. In 1956 the fund operated at a level of $3,250,000.

The United Nations Negotiating Committee for Extra-Budgetary Funds has had primary responsibility for negotiating with representatives of U.N. member governments and nonmember governments the amounts that each may be able to contribute to the respective programs. Early in its 12th session, the General Assembly will constitute itself as a committee of the whole and act as a pledging conference in a special effort to stimulate additional financial support for the UNRWA and UNREF programs. UNICEF and UNTA will continue to hold their own pledging conferences or to make direct solicitations.

In addition, the ICAO Joint Support Program was maintained at approximately the same level as previous years, supported by contributions from countries whose airlines use the Atlantic crossing. This program provides for the maintenance and operation of certain

air navigation, communications, and meteorological facilities in the territory of countries unable financially to support these facilities entirely at their own expense. During the year the participating governments met to renegotiate the current agreements for the purpose of simplifying administrative provisions and of consulting on new services required. The result will be some increase in support payments from the benefiting countries.

From October 28 to December 31, 1956, as a result of events in Hungary, 155,000 refugees arrived in Austria seeking asylum. The United Nations adopted in plenary session two resolutions concerning the refugees from Hungary. In a resolution dated November 9, 1956, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to call upon the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to consult with agencies and governments with a view to making speedy and effective arrangements for emergency assistance to refugees from Hungary. In a second resolution which was adopted on November 21, 1956, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General and the UNHCR to make an immediate appeal to both governments and nongovernmental organizations for assistance to Hungarian refugees. In response to these two appeals the United States contributed $5,000,000 to the United Nations, $500,000 of which was presented to the Austrian Government by the Secretary-General. The balance was turned over to the UNHCR for allocation to the Austrian Government, the League of Red Cross Societies, and other organizations having a role in helping the refugees. Other governments responded to the U.N. appeals by gifts amounting to approximately $2,000,000. Several of these governments also have granted asylum to large numbers of refugees, for example: as of March 1, Australia has granted asylum to approximately 3,400 Hungarian refugees, Belgium 3,100, Canada 13,500, France 8,800, Germany 12,000, the Netherlands 3,000, Sweden 4,000, Switzerland 10,300, the United Kingdom 18,100, and the United States 28,100.

United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF)

The United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF) was established by the General Assembly on November 5, 1956, following a request to the Secretary-General to submit a plan for an emergency international force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities in Egyptian territory. On November 26 the General Assembly directed that a special account be established in an initial amount of $10,000,000 for UNEF expenses. Pending determination of the means for financing this amount, the Secretary-General was authorized to draw

on the working capital fund for necessary cash advances. On December 21 the General Assembly decided that the initial $10,000,000 should be met from assessments on member governments in accordance with the regular assessment scale. A special nine-member committee was established to study and make recommendations on sums required in 1957 in excess of $10,000,000.

In his report of January 24, 1957, to the special committee, the Secretary-General noted that estimated UNEF expenditures for 1957 would be $16,500,000 (including the initial $10,000,000). This figure did not include the following types of expenditures that have been made by several countries on behalf of UNEF *without charge* to the common budget:

1. The assignment of troops and normal related equipment to UNEF. 2. The initial transportation of UNEF personnel and equipment by the United States, Switzerland, Canada, Brazil and others. 3. Miscellaneous services and facilities furnished by several nations in order to activate the force. Furthermore, the $16,500,000 estimate was predicated on the fact that the governments providing troops were paying the remuneration of their troops directly and, in several cases, also paying special or overseas allowances to their contingents above and beyond normal home rates of pay. Now that it becomes apparent that the UNEF will remain in existence beyond the originally anticipated brief period, several of these governments have requested a reconsideration of some of these costs defrayed directly, particularly with regard to the future. This could, of course, involve an increase in the common cost budget.

It was the recommendation of the special committee that the Secretary-General be authorized to incur obligations on behalf of UNEF for 1957 up to $16,500,000. In recognition, however, of the financial hardship caused by the initial assessment of $10,000,000, and as a special measure, the committee suggested that the remaining $6,500,000 be met to the extent possible by voluntary contributions and that the General Assembly at its 12th session consider the basis for financing any UNEF costs in excess of $10,000,000 not covered by voluntary contributions.

The recommendations of the special committee were incorporated into a resolution subsequently adopted by the General Assembly on February 27, 1957. [See Part I, p. 70.]

Advance for Clearance of the Suez Canal

On November 26, 1956, the General Assembly passed a resolution under which the Secretary-General was authorized to proceed with

the exploration of practical arrangements and the negotiation of agreements so that the clearing operations of the Suez Canal might be speedily and effectively undertaken. With this authority, the Secretary-General entered into a contract with a private Dutch-Danish consortium to undertake the necessary work. The cost of restoring the canal to its original status was then estimated at $20,000,000. In order to raise funds for immediate cash requirements, the Secretary-General addressed an appeal to all members of the United Nations for assistance. This appeal was followed up by a special letter to 10 nations, including the United States, asking for cash advances totaling $10,000,000, to be paid back at a future date when a satisfactory arrangement for financing the repairs would have been concluded.

Responding to the Secretary-General's letter, the United States advanced $5,000,000 in the hope that this sum would be matched. By the time the General Assembly recessed, all but one of the remaining nine countries also made pledges, bringing the total of advances to $10,000,000. An additional $1,200,000 was expected soon after. [See Part I, p. 68.]

ASSESSMENTS

The percentage assessments of the United States for the regular expenditure budgets of the United Nations and the larger specialized agencies financed by annual member contributions for calendar years 1956 and 1957 are as follows:

	1956 percent	*1957 percent*
United Nations	33.33	33.33
Food and Agriculture Organization	31.50	31.50
International Civil Aviation Organization	33.31	33.33
International Labor Organization	25.00	25.00
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	30.00	31.30
World Health Organization	31.64	29.96

In the United Nations, the U.S. share remains at 33.33 percent for 1957. The 1957 scale includes the 16 new members that were admitted late in the 10th session of the General Assembly (1955). The decision of the 11th session of the General Assembly with regard to the inclusion of the 16 new members into the scale of assessments was as follows:

(1) For 1956 and 1957 expenses of the United Nations, the 1952 decision that the largest contributor (United States) should pay one-third would remain in force. (The one-third limit had been

accepted in principle by the General Assembly in 1948.) Minimum shares would remain at .04 percent. The balance of the 100 percent scale remaining after the above determinations should be adjusted to include the 16 new members at appropriate shares, having regard to their relative per capita national income.

(2) The entire question of cost sharing would be included on the agenda of the next General Assembly with a view to giving new criteria to the Committee on Contributions for developing the percentage scales of contributions for 1958 and 1959.

(3) Appropriate payments by the 4 additional recently admitted members (Tunisia, Sudan, Morocco, and Japan) would be maintained outside the 100 percent scale pending the forthcoming General Assembly review of the question of cost sharing.

The UNESCO scale of contributions is based directly on the U.N. scale; as the membership tends to become identical, so do the scales of contributions. Since the adherence of the 16 new members to the United Nations has almost eliminated the difference in membership between the two organizations, the United States percentage in UNESCO for the calendar years 1957 and 1958 has been adjusted closer to the percentage in the United Nations—from 30 percent to 31.33 percent.

There have been no other significant changes in the contributions scales in other organizations. It should be noted, however, that pressures continue in organizations such as the FAO and ILO, where the United States is below one-third, to adopt the pattern of the United Nations.

A special situation exists in the World Health Organization (WHO) regarding the U.S. share. For the last few years the U.S. assessment in the WHO has been 33.33 percent of total assessments. However, nine WHO members (Soviet bloc) have been inactive and have not paid their assessments. Largely through U.S. initiative the eighth Health Assembly in May 1955 adopted the principle that the maximum assessment should not exceed one-third of assessments on *active* members, and voted to put this principle in effect in four annual steps. Thus the U.S. percentage share of total WHO assessments, including assessments on the 9 inactive members, was decreased from 33.33 percent in 1955 to 31.64 percent in 1956, and 29.96 percent in 1957, so as to reduce the United States share of the total received from active members toward the desired one-third. Early in 1957 the U.S.S.R. and the European satellites announced their intention to renew active participation. This would mean a reversion to the regular assessment scale since inactive membership will no longer be a factor.

Special situations are also found in the cases of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU) and the World Meteorological Organization (WMO). The size of the ordinary budget of the ITU is limited by the Union's basic convention, and member quotas are of various classes, each member choosing the class that it believes to correspond to its importance in this field. The U.S. quota class results in an 8.96 percent share of the ordinary budget for 1956 and 1957 (for continental United States and the U.S. territories). Extraordinary expenses, such as the cost of meetings, are shared pro rata by the countries participating in them. The WMO scale is an outgrowth of the scale of its predecessor organization which divided members into a limited number of categories. Although the use of categories has not been continued by the WMO, the range of member contributions has been narrower than in most of the other U.N. specialized agencies. The U.S. share in WMO was 15.48 percent for 1956 and is 15.35 percent for 1957.

SECRETARIATS

Salary Review

The United Nations system of salaries, allowances, and conditions of service was substantially modified during the 11th session of the General Assembly as a result of recommendations contained in the Report of the Salary Review Committee and subsequent General Assembly action on those recommendations. The modifications will affect employment conditions in the United Nations and in most of the specialized agencies.

The United Nations and specialized agencies over the past several years have developed a "common system" of salaries, allowances and other emoluments. It applies to all internationally recruited (professional) personnel of all specialized agencies except the ITU, UPU, the International Bank, and the International Monetary Fund. This "common system" stems largely from the recommendations of the 1949 Committee of Experts on Salary, Allowances and Leave Systems.

In the period since 1949 certain inequities in the system have developed. A limited investigation into the problem was carried out in 1955 by a committee of experts, but it soon became evident to the organizations concerned that a far broader examination was required. Therefore the Secretary-General proposed that the Administrative

Committee on Coordination (ACC) undertake a comprehensive study of the entire "common system."

The General Assembly at its 10th session, however, decided that an expert committee of government representatives would be preferable and directed the Secretary-General to appoint a committee consisting of representatives of 9 member countries and 2 non-U.N. members. The resulting 11-member committee was made up of representatives of Denmark, Switzerland, New Zealand, India, Egypt, the United States, U.S.S.R., France, Japan, Argentina, and the United Kingdom. James M. Mitchell, associate director of the National Science Foundation and former Civil Service Commissioner, represented the United States. During 1956 the committee met extensively, heard oral evidence from 48 witnesses, and submitted a detailed report to the 11th General Assembly.

ACTION OF THE ELEVENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

During the 11th session Committee V (Administrative and Budgetary) discussed the report during 23 meetings and accepted a majority of the Salary Review Committee's recommendations. However, in resolving a number of points of difference between the Salary Review Committee's recommendations and those submitted by the Secretary-General, the committee adopted several changes requested by the Secretary-General. In addition, a number of matters were deemed to require further study and therefore were referred to the Assembly's 12th session. The United States supported most of the recommendations of the Salary Review Committee, but on some matters followed the position of the Secretary-General.

The resultant changes are far-reaching and represent an improvement in the conditions of employment in international organizations. Although the base salaries were not changed, the existing system of "cost-of-living" differentials was changed to one of "post adjustments." Under this system, staff in a given city would receive differentials in 5-percent increments as the cost of living in that city increased in comparison with the cost of living in Geneva as of January 1, 1956.

A number of measures were accepted to reduce existing variations among organizations in the "common system" and to provide more systematic advancement for career personnel. Allowances and leave provisions were maintained or improved, and Committee V accepted in principle a proposed improved medical insurance plan.

The adoption of the Salary Review Committee's suggestion that "as opportunity offers" the noncareer staff be increased up to about

20 percent of the total staff should result in a gradual increase in such appointments. On the important matter of reconciliation of services in different programs, Committee V accepted a number of recommendations of the Salary Review Committee as modified by the Secretary-General. These changes are designed to equalize as far as possible conditions of service for employees of five different organizations who may be employed in various parts of the world on the several major programs.

Since the maintenance of equitable salaries, allowances, and other employment conditions represent a continuing problem, the Salary Review Committee recommended that machinery for dealing with these matters be strengthened, mainly through giving broader functions and more authority to the International Civil Service Advisory Board (ICSAB). The United States strongly supports this objective. Committee V decided that the overall question be deferred to the 12th session of the General Assembly for further study, but resolved that in the interim urgent matters discussed in the report should be referred to ICSAB by the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC).

Other issues deferred to the 12th session included the proposed creation of additional senior local service grades, the establishment of longevity increments, the question of what share of salaries and allowances should be pensionable, the definition of dependency for allowance purposes, and dental costs insurance. These matters will receive further study during 1957 and are expected to be resolved by the 12th General Assembly.

ICJ Opinion Concerning Certain UNESCO Cases

[See also Part IV, p. 250.]

On October 23, 1956, the International Court of Justice delivered an advisory opinion upholding the jurisdiction of the Administrative Tribunal of the International Labor Organization in the cases of four former UNESCO employees. The four employees were United States nationals who, while employed by UNESCO, failed to appear for a hearing before the International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board of the United States Civil Service Commission. The Board subsequently advised UNESCO that on the record before it there was reasonable doubt about the loyalty of these people to the United States. The Director General of UNESCO allowed the fixed term contracts of the four employees to expire—three at the end of 1954 and one on February 14, 1955. Prior to the expiration of their contracts, the Director General informed the four employees that he would

not offer them further appointments in view of the fact that their failure to appear before the International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board did not represent conduct consistent with the high standards of integrity required of those employed by UNESCO. The four employees appealed to the Administrative Tribunal of the International Labor Organization. In judgments rendered in April and October 1955, this Tribunal decided, contrary to the position maintained by UNESCO, that it was competent to hear and decide the four complaints and ruled that the Director General had acted illegally in regard to the nonrenewal of the employees' contracts and that they should therefore be reinstated or awarded damages in the approximate total amount of $51,000.

On November 18, 1955, on the recommendation of the Director General, the Executive Board of UNESCO decided to seek an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the question of the jurisdiction of the ILO Tribunal in these four cases. (These four cases are not to be confused with those of three other United States nationals having indeterminant contracts with UNESCO who were discharged for the same reasons as the four under discussion and who also obtained judgments in their favor from the ILO Administrative Tribunal.) Article XII of the statute of the ILO Administrative Tribunal provides for such recourse to the International Court of Justice and provides that the advisory opinion shall be binding. The proceedings, in which the United States submitted a statement supporting the position of the Director General of UNESCO that the ILO Administrative Tribunal had exceeded its jurisdiction in these cases, are described in Part IV of this report. The outcome was an opinion upholding the Tribunal's jurisdiction.

Sums owed the employees pursuant to the ILO Administrative Tribunal's judgments were accordingly authorized by UNESCO's Executive Board to be paid in full out of past savings of the Organization.

Tax Equalization

The General Assembly in 1955 and 1956 acted to resolve a difficulty arising from U.N. procedures for reimbursing U.S. citizens on the Secretariat for the national, state, and local income taxes they pay on their U.N. salaries over and above the comparable staff assessment paid by them to the United Nations. New procedures were agreed upon that are considered to be more equitable among member states.

In 1955 the 10th General Assembly unanimously approved the adoption of a solution for the double taxation problem of U.N. em-

ployees who pay both the staff assessment and a national income tax The new procedure provided for a refund to such individuals of their staff assessment up to the amount of their national tax liability through the use of a Tax Equalization Fund, a share of which was established for each U.N. member in proportion to its percentage contribution to the U.N. regular budget. No specific provision was made, however, for the reimbursement of state and local income taxes.

ACTION OF THE ELEVENTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

When the Tax Equalization Fund was established by the 10th General Assembly it was specifically provided that only the cost of reimbursing national income taxes would be charged against a member's share of the fund. The reimbursement of state and local income taxes was deferred pending a study by the Secretary-General and a report thereon to the 11th General Assembly. The study was concluded in the fall of 1956 and the 11th General Assembly decided that the cost of reimbursing state and local income taxes will be charged against a member's share of the fund. As in the case of national income taxes, only United States nationals are subject to state and local income taxes and, therefore, only the U.S. share of the fund will be affected by the General Assembly's action.

The practical effect of the 1955 and 1956 General Assembly actions is that no longer will there be annual appropriations to reimburse employees already subject to the U.N. staff assessment for payment of national, state, and local income taxes. The United States, which continues to tax staff members who are U.S. nationals or permanent residents of the United States, will not be entitled to credits from the Tax Equalization Fund. The effect for the other member nations is to relieve them of the necessity of contributing to the tax reimbursement of U.S. nationals. Members that do not impose such income taxes may use their share in the Tax Equalization Fund as credit to reduce their contribution to the regular budget of the United Nations.

appendixes

APPENDIX I

The United Nations Expanded Program of Technical Assistance

Contributions Pledged and Received as of December 31, 1956

[Calendar year 1956]

Country	Contributions pledged local currency	Dollar equivalent	Contributions received (dollar equivalent)
Afghanistan	Equivalent of	$10, 000	. . . . .
Argentina	Pesos	360, 000	$360, 000
Australia	Australian pounds	500, 032	500, 032
Austria	Schillings	38, 462	38, 462
Belgium	Belgian francs	437, 500	437, 500
Bolivia	Equivalent of	10, 000	. . . . .
Brazil	Cruzeiros	751, 351	751, 351
Bulgaria	Leva	14, 706	14, 706
Burma	Equivalent of	18, 000	18, 000
Byelorussian SSR	Rubles	50, 000	50, 000
Cambodia	U. S. dollars	5, 000	. . . . .
Canada	U. S. dollars	1, 800, 000	1, 800, 000
Ceylon	Equivalent of	18, 000	18, 000
Chile	Chilean pesos	44, 000	44, 000
China	Equivalent of	20, 000	20, 000
Colombia	U. S. dollars	140, 000	140, 000
Costa Rica	U. S. dollars	8, 400	8, 400
Cuba	Cuban pesos	25, 000	25, 000
Czechoslovakia	Crowns	69, 444	69, 444
Denmark	Danish kroner	579, 123	579, 123
Dominican Republic	Pesos	24, 000	24, 000
Ecuador	Sucres	10, 000	3, 333
Egypt	Egyptian pounds	100, 517	. . . . .
El Salvador	U. S. dollars	7, 000	. . . . .
Ethiopia	Equivalent of	20, 000	20, 000
Finland	Equivalent of	15, 000	15, 000
France	French francs	1, 450, 357	1, 450, 357
Germany, Federal Republic of.	German marks	297, 619	297, 619
Greece	Equivalent of	5, 000	5, 000
Guatemala	U. S. dollars	7, 500	7, 500
Haiti	Equivalent of	14, 400	14, 400
Hungary	Florints	12, 875	12, 875

Contributions Pledged and Received as of December 31, 1956—Continued

[Calendar year 1956]

Country	Contributions pledged local currency	Dollar equivalent	Contributions received (dollar equivalent)
Iceland	Icelandic kronur	$3, 359	$3, 359
India	Indian rupees	450, 000	450, 000
Indonesia	Rupiahs	65, 789	6, 579
Iran	Equivalent of	50, 000	. . . . .
Iraq	Dinars	28, 003	28, 003
Ireland	Irish pounds	14, 002	14, 002
Israel	Israeli pounds	50, 000	33, 333
Italy	Lire	112, 000	112, 000
Japan	Equivalent of	90, 000	90, 000
Jordan	Dinars	5, 601	5, 601
Korea	U. S. dollars	3, 500	3, 500
Laos	U. S. dollars	1, 420	1, 420
Lebanon	Lebanese pounds	6, 846	6, 846
Liberia	U. S. dollars	20, 000	20, 000
Libya	U. S. dollars	5, 000	5, 000
Liechtenstein	Swiss francs	467	467
Luxembourg	Belgian francs	3, 000	3, 000
Mexico	Mexican pesos	33, 600	33, 600
Monaco	French francs	1, 429	1, 429
Netherlands	Netherlands guilders	760, 000	760, 000
New Zealand	New Zealand pounds	168, 020	168, 020
Nicaragua	Cordobas	6, 429	6, 429
Norway	Norwegian kroner	380, 792	380, 792
Pakistan	Equivalent of	166, 213	166, 213
Panama	U. S. dollars	3, 000	3, 000
Paraguay	U. S. dollars	12, 000	. . . . .
Philippines	Philippine pesos	66, 000	66, 000
Poland	Zlotys	75, 000	75, 000
Rumania	Lei	16, 667	16, 667
Saudi Arabia	U. S. dollars	25, 000	25, 000
Spain	Pesetas	10, 000	10, 000
Sudan	Egyptian pounds	43, 079	43, 079
Sweden	Swedish kroner	695, 921	695, 921
Switzerland	Swiss francs	233, 645	175, 234
Syria	Syrian pounds	11, 867	. . . . .
Thailand	Thailand bahts	64, 000	64, 000
Turkey	Equivalent of	201, 495	201, 495
Ukrainian SSR	Rubles	125, 000	125, 000
U.S.S.R.	Rubles	1, 000, 000	1, 000, 000
United Kingdom	Pounds sterling	2, 240, 000	2, 240, 000
United States	U. S. dollars	14, 419, 430	13, 377, 238
Uruguay	Equivalent of	120, 000	. . . . .
Vatican City	U. S. dollars	2, 000	2, 000
Venezuela	U. S. dollars	66, 000	66, 000
Viet-Nam	Piasters	10, 000	10, 000
Yugoslavia	Dinars	110, 000	110, 000
Total	. . . . .	28, 838, 860	27, 329, 329

APPENDIX II

Contributions Received by UNRWA or Given Directly to the Palestine Refugees

Government contributions (cash, in kind, and direct aid)

[As of June 30, 1956]

Australia	$112, 500	Mexico (due from UNKRA)	$11, 409
Austria	700	Monaco	286
Belgium	30, 000	Netherlands	57, 895
Burma	3, 528	New Zealand	168, 000
Egypt	224, 924	Norway	42, 135
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	19, 600	Saudi Arabia	40, 000
France	368, 276	Sweden	57, 915
Germany, Federal Republic of	16, 603	Switzerland	12, 444
Greece	6, 000	Syria	74, 900
India	52, 500	Turkey	5, 357
Indonesia	30, 000	United Kingdom	5, 500, 001
Iran	5, 138	United States	16, 700, 000
Japan	10, 000	Yugoslavia	80, 000
Lebanon	12, 164		
Luxembourg	4, 000	Subtotal, governments	23, 646, 275

Contributions in cash and kind from other contributors

Basheer Al Oraibi	$560
British Syrian Lebanese Mission	5, 038
Canadian Red Cross	9, 933
Hamed Abu Malluh	536
Heirs of Saad Pasha Shatila	1, 772
Lutheran World Federation	674
Mahmoud Ureiban	536
Mneimneh and Boheali	892
Near East Christian Council Committee	6, 720
Pontifical Mission	1, 428
Sheikh Ali Abu Middein	1, 762
Sheikh Freih Musader	1, 538
UNESCO	102, 140

Contributions in cash and kind from other contributors—Continued

UNICEF	$5, 005
W. A. Cadbury Trust	840
WHO	58, 706
Sundry donors of under $500 each	2, 742
Subtotal	200, 822

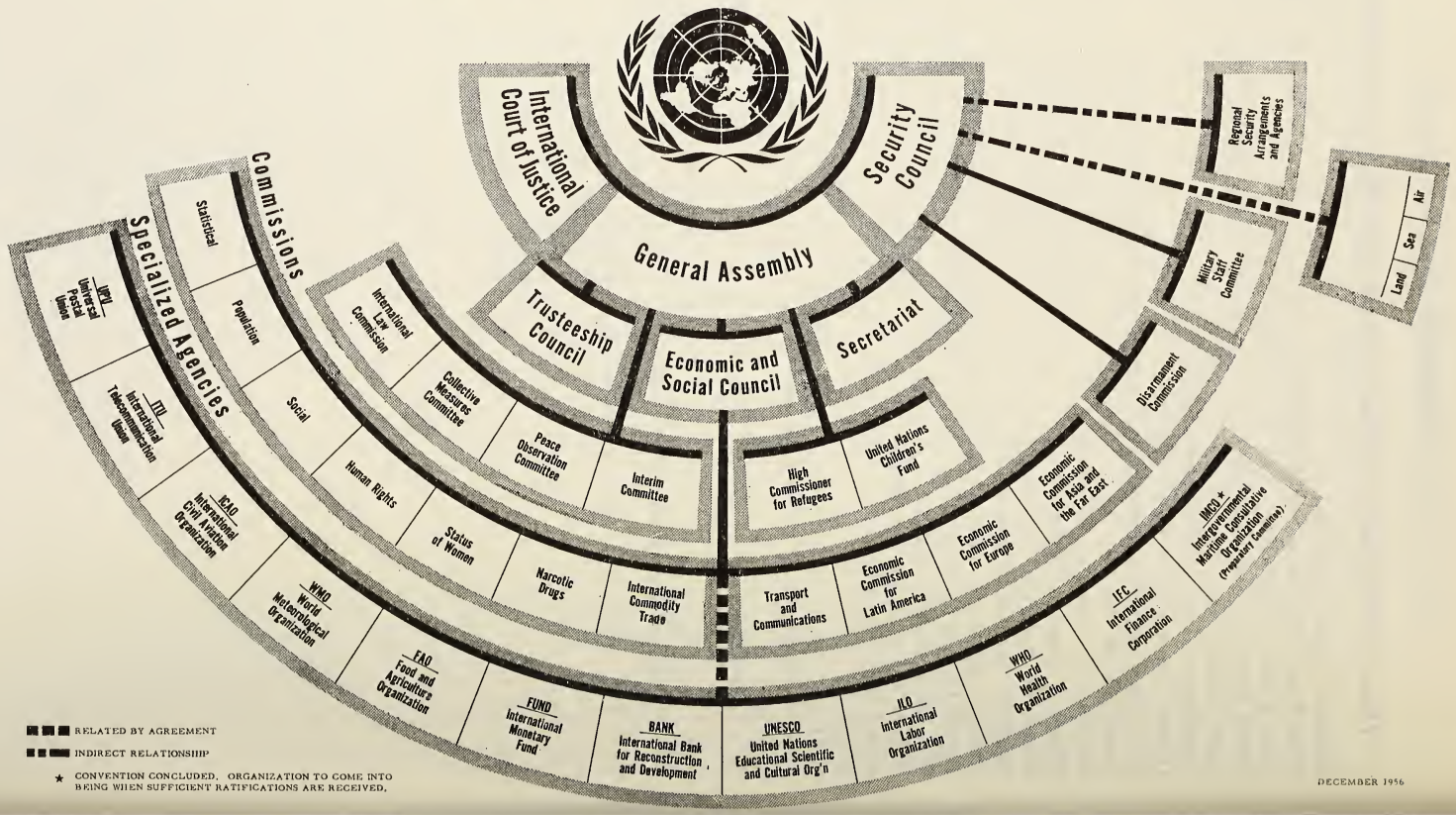
Direct contributions to refugees by other contributors

American Middle East Relief	6, 946
American Friends Service Committee	12, 542
American National Red Cross	50, 304
American Presbyterian Mission	13, 959
Anglican Bishop, Jerusalem	35, 745
Arab Evangelical Episcopal Community	22, 114
Arab National Hospital	15, 985
Arab Women's Union Committee	4, 665
Australian Red Cross	12, 596
Baraka Sanatorium, Jordan	4, 360
Bible Society, Beirut	1, 242
British Red Cross Society	54, 999
British Syrian Lebanese Mission	9, 225
Canadian Red Cross	60, 813
Catholic Relief Services	265, 211
Church Missionary Society, Amman	686
Church World Service, U.S.A.	188, 109
Congregational Christian Service Committee	29, 745
Council of Organizations for Relief Services Overseas, New Zealand	23, 423
Daniel and Emily Oliver Orphanage, Lebanon	3, 600
Danish Birds' Nest, Lebanon	1, 386
Dar el Awlad Orphanage, Jerusalem	1, 381
Dar el Awlad Orphanage, Lebanon	3, 870
Dar el Tifl, Jerusalem	15, 842
Dutch Red Cross	1, 312
Evangelical Hospital, Jordan	2, 103
French Faculty of Medicine, Beirut	1, 242
French Hospital, Bethlehem	9, 450
Frères College, Jerusalem	5, 600
Friends Boys School, Jordan	3, 696
Girl Guides Association of New Zealand	1, 400
Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Jerusalem	1, 627
Joint Christian Committee	2, 675
Jordan Red Crescent	16, 176
Mr. Sami Khoury, Lebanon	582
Lutheran World Federation	311, 087
Meals for Millions Foundation	2, 418
Mennonite Central Committee	22, 559
Middle East Relief Association	1, 538
Moslem Brethren, Hebron	4, 284
Moslem Orphanage School, Jerusalem	7, 602
Moslem Waqfs, Hebron	6, 048
Moslem Waqfs, Jerusalem	1, 890

Direct contributions to refugees by other contributors—Continued

Moslem Waqfs, Lebanon	$4, 662
Near East Christian Council Committee	14, 220
New Zealand Council	22, 665
Notre Dame de Sion, Jerusalem	5, 521
Obay Orphanage, Lebanon	1, 107
Ophthalmic Hospital, Jerusalem	48, 227
Oxford Committee for Famine Relief	3, 947
Palestine Permanent Bureau	1, 389
Pontifical Mission	245, 743
Schneller's Orphanage, Lebanon	1, 197
Sisters of Charity, Bethany	13, 552
Sisters of Nazareth, Amman	12, 180
Southern Baptist Mission, Jordan	1, 344
Trappist Convent, Latrun	4, 577
United Church of Canada	700
War Relief Service, U.S.A.	1, 672
Women's Voluntary Services	19, 444
World Relief Commission	2, 213
YMCA	39, 023
YWCA	1, 656
Sundry donors giving under $500 each	2, 495
Subtotal	1, 689, 571
Total contributions, all sources	25, 536, 668

THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM



DECEMBER 1956

APPENDIX III

The United Nations System

THE UNITED NATIONS

The General Assembly

The General Assembly is the only principal organ of the United Nations on which all 81 members are represented. These are listed below:

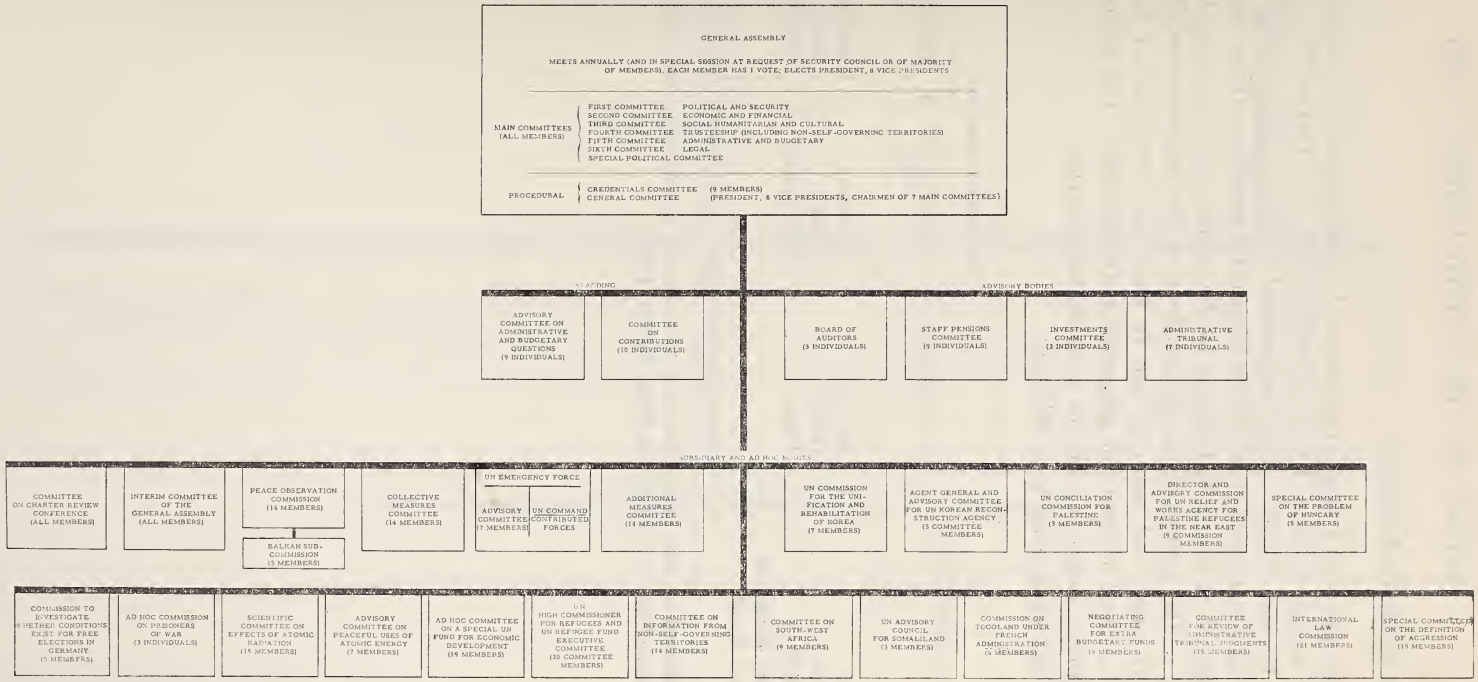
Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Mexico
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Rumania
Saudi Arabia
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Syria
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
Union of South Africa
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Yemen
Yugoslavia

Two emergency special sessions were held in 1956, the first from November 1 to 10 and the second from November 4 to 10.

The 11th regular session of the General Assembly met in New York from November 12 to December 21, 1956, and from January 2 to March 8, 1957, when it adjourned temporarily, subject to the call of its President.

The assembly elected Prince Wan Waithayakon (Thailand) president and the chief delegates of China, El Salvador, France, India, Italy, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R., and the United States as its eight vice presidents. The chairmen of the seven main committees were, respectively, Victor Andres Belaunde (Peru), Political and Security; Selim Sarper (Turkey), Special Political; Mohammad Mir Khan (Pakistan), Economic and Financial; Hermod Lannung (Denmark), Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural; Enrique de Marchena (Dominican Republic), Trusteeship (including Non-Self-Governing Territories); Omar Loutfi (Egypt), Administrative and Budgetary; and Karel Petrzelka (Czechoslovakia), Legal.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND ITS COMMITTEES



DECEMBER 1956

The Security Council

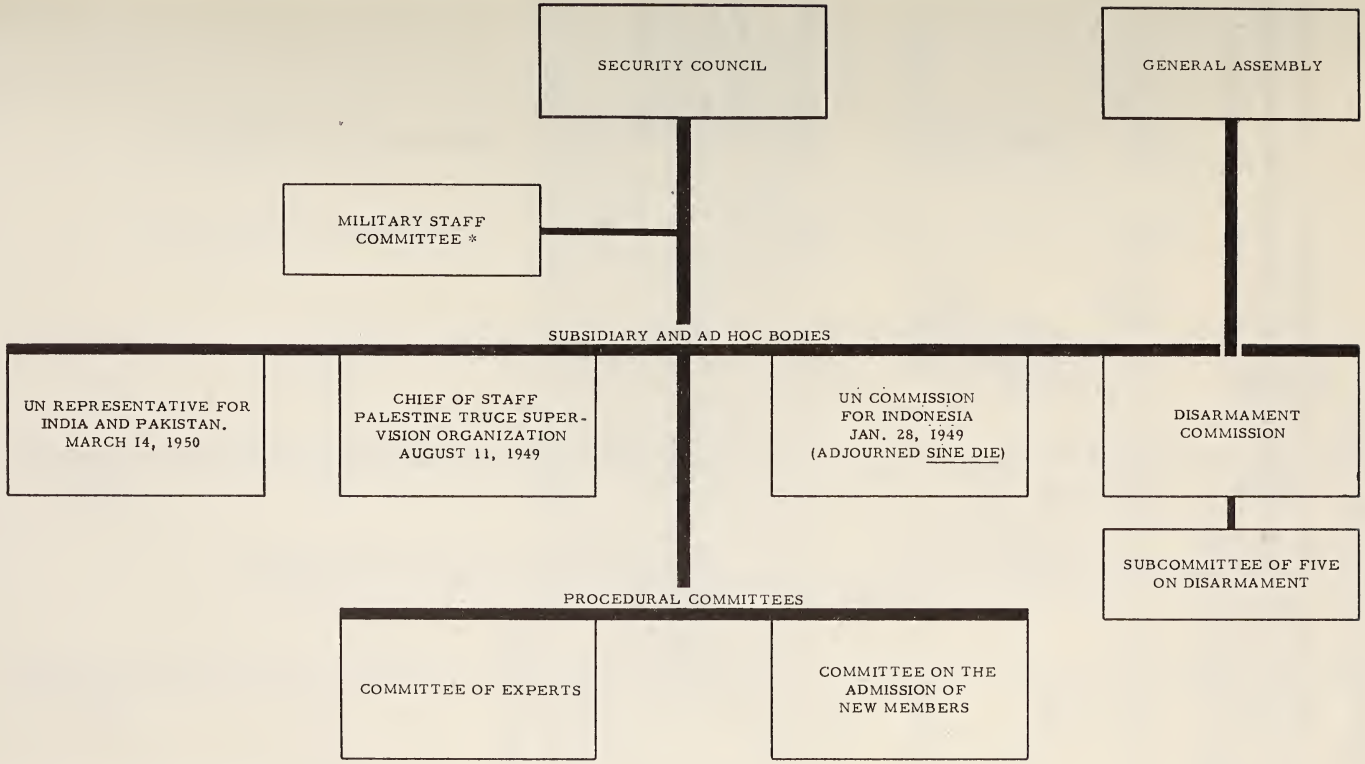
The Security Council consists of 11 members of the United Nations, 5 of which—China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States—have permanent status. The remaining 6 are elected for 2-year terms by the General Assembly, taking into account article 23 of the U.N. Charter to the effect that "due regard" shall be paid to the contribution of members to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the United Nations and to equitable geographic distribution. The nonpermanent members are not eligible for immediate reelection.

The membership is as follows:

Permanent members	Nonpermanent members		
	Term expired Dec. 31, 1956	Term expires Dec. 31, 1957	Term expires Dec. 31, 1958
China	Belgium	Australia	Sweden
France	Iran	Cuba	Iraq
U.S.S.R.	Peru	Philippines [1]	Colombia
United Kingdom			
United States			

[1] Elected by the 11th session of the General Assembly to succeed Yugoslavia upon the latter's resignation December 31, 1956.

STRUCTURE OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL



*CHIEFS OF STAFF OF THE PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

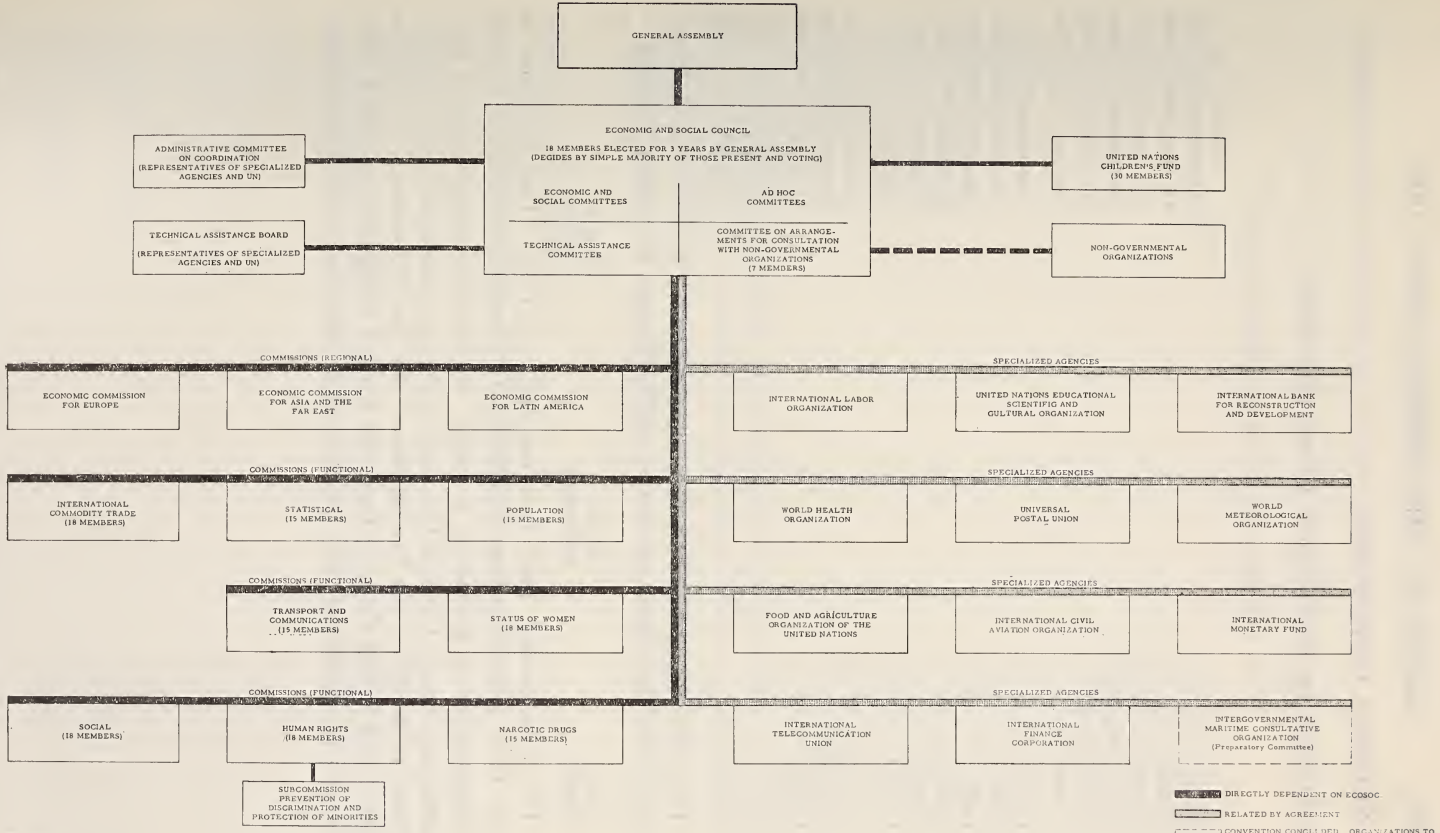
DECEMBER 1956

The Economic and Social Council

The Economic and Social Council is composed of 1 representative each from 18 member states, 6 countries being elected each year by the General Assembly to serve for a period of 3 years. The Council is composed of the following:

Term expired Dec. 31, 1956	Term expires Dec. 31, 1957	Term expires Dec. 31, 1958	Tem expires Dec. 31, 1959
Czechoslovakia . . .	Argentina . . .	Brazil	Finland
Ecuador	China	Canada	Mexico
Norway	Dominican Republic.	Greece	Poland
Pakistan	Egypt	Indonesia . . .	Pakistan
U.S.S.R.	France	United States . .	U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom . .	Netherlands . .	Yugoslavia. . .	United Kingdom

There were two sessions of the Council in 1956. The 21st session was convened at headquarters in New York on April 17 to May 4, 1956. The 22d session was convened at the European headquarters of the United Nations in Geneva on July 9 and recessed on August 9, 1956. The representative from Norway, Ambassador Hans Engen, was elected president for the year 1956. Ambassador José Trujillo (Ecuador) and Said Hasan (Pakistan) were elected first and second vice presidents, respectively. The resumed part of the 22d session was held in New York December 17, December 19, and adjourned December 21, 1956.



DECEMBER 1956

FUNCTIONAL COMMISSIONS

Commission on International Commodity Trade

1956 chairman: M. Gopala Menon, India

	Expiration date
Brazil	December 31, 1956
Canada	December 31, 1956
Poland	December 31, 1956
United Kingdom	December 31, 1956
United States	December 31, 1956
Venezuela	December 31, 1956
Egypt	December 31, 1957
France	December 31, 1957
India	December 31, 1957
Pakistan	December 31, 1957
Turkey	December 31, 1957
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1957
Argentina	December 31, 1958
Australia	December 31, 1958
Belgium	December 31, 1958
Chile	December 31, 1958
China	December 31, 1958
Denmark	December 31, 1958

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council for the period January 1, 1957, through December 31, 1959:

Brazil	Greece	Poland
Canada	Indonesia	Uruguay

The Commission held two meetings in 1956. The first met in New York from May 7 to 18, 1956, and the second was held in Geneva November 28 to December 7, 1956. At the 20th session of the Economic and Social Council the United States announced that it did not intend to serve on the Commission. At the 22d session of the Economic and Social Council both the United Kingdom and the United States announced they did not wish to be reelected to the Commission.

Transport and Communications Commission

1955 chairman: Willem L. de Vries, Netherlands (Reelected)

(There was no meeting of the Commission in 1956)

	Expiration date
Byelorussian S.S.R	December 31, 1956
Egypt	December 31, 1956
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1956
United States	December 31, 1956
Venezuela	December 31, 1956
Chile	December 31, 1957
India	December 31, 1957
Netherlands	December 31, 1957
Poland	December 31, 1957
United Kingdom	December 31, 1957
Burma	December 31, 1959
China	December 31, 1959
Ecuador	December 31, 1959
France	December 31, 1959
Venezuela	December 31, 1959

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1957, through December 31, 1960:[1]

Bulgaria	U.S.S.R.	Venezuela
Lebanon	United States	

Statistical Commission

1956 chairman: P. C. Mahalanobis, India (Reelected)

	Expiration date
Denmark	December 31, 1956
France	December 31, 1956
Panama	December 31, 1956
United Kingdom	December 31, 1956
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1956
Australia	December 31, 1957
China	December 31, 1957
Netherlands	December 31, 1957
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1957
United States	December 31, 1957
Canada	December 31, 1959
Dominican Republic	December 31, 1959
India	December 31, 1959
New Zealand	December 31, 1959
Ukrainian S.S.R	December 31, 1959

[1] The members of Commissions that meet biennially are elected for 4-year terms.

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1957, through December 31, 1960:[1]

Cuba	France	United Kingdom
Denmark	Rumania	

Population Commission

1955 chairman: J. T. Marshall, Canada

(There was no meeting of the Commission in 1956)

	Expiration date
Argentina	December 31, 1956
Belgium	December 31, 1956
Brazil	December 31, 1956
Canada	December 31, 1956
Syria	December 31, 1956
Costa Rica	December 31, 1957
India	December 31, 1957
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1957
United Kingdom	December 31, 1957
United States	December 31, 1957
China	December 31, 1959
France	December 31, 1959
Israel	December 31, 1959
Norway	December 31, 1959
Ukrainian S.S.R	December 31, 1959

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1957, through December 31, 1960.[1]

Argentina	Brazil	Egypt
Belgium	Canada	

[1] The members of Commissions that meet biennially are elected for 4-year terms.

Social Commission

1955 chairman: Kaare Salvesen, Norway

(There was no meeting of the Commission in 1956)

	Expiration date
Australia	December 31, 1956
Belgium	December 31, 1956
Byelorussian S.S.R	December 31, 1956
China	December 31, 1956
Israel	December 31, 1956
Uruguay	December 31, 1956
France	December 31, 1957
Greece	December 31, 1957
India	December 31, 1957
Philippines	December 31, 1957
U.S.S.R.	December 31, 1957
United States	December 31, 1957
Colombia	December 31, 1959
Czechoslovakia	December 31, 1959
Dominican Republic	December 31, 1959
Egypt	December 31, 1959
Sweden	December 31, 1959
United Kingdom	December 31, 1959

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1957, through December 31, 1960:[1]

Byelorussian S.S.R.	Ecuador	New Zealand
China	Netherlands	Spain

Commission on Narcotic Drugs[1]

1956 chairman: J. H. Walker, United Kingdom

Canada	Iran	Turkey
China	Mexico	U.S.S.R.
Egypt	Netherlands	United Kingdom
France	Peru	United States
India	Poland	Yugoslavia

The following five countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council in May 1956 for a 3-year period:

Austria	Hungary	Mexico
Egypt	Iran	

[1] The members of Commissions that meet biennially are elected for 4-year terms.

Commission on Human Rights

1956 chairman: M. Rene Cassin, France (Reelected)

	Expiration date
Australia	December 31, 1956
Chile	December 31, 1956
Greece	December 31, 1956
Pakistan	December 31, 1956
Turkey	December 31, 1956
United States	December 31, 1956
China	December 31, 1957
Lebanon	December 31, 1957
Mexico	December 31, 1957
Norway	December 31, 1957
Poland	December 31, 1957
United Kingdom	December 31, 1957
France	December 31, 1958
India	December 31, 1958
Iraq	December 31, 1958
Philippines	December 31, 1958
Ukrainian S.S.R	December 31, 1958
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1958

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1957, through December 31, 1959:

Argentina	Iran	Italy
Ceylon	Israel	United States

Commission on the Status of Women

1956 chairman: Mrs. Agda Rössel, Sweden

	Expiration date
Cuba	December 31, 1956
Dominican Republic	December 31, 1956
France	December 31, 1956
Poland	December 31, 1956
Sweden	December 31, 1956
Yugoslavia	
Argentina	December 31, 1957
Australia	December 31, 1957
Byelorussian S.S.R	December 31, 1957
China	December 31, 1957
Indonesia	December 31, 1957
Pakistan	December 31, 1957
Belgium	December 31, 1958
Israel	December 31, 1958
U.S.S.R	December 31, 1958
United Kingdom	December 31, 1958
United States	December 31, 1958
Venezuela	December 31, 1958

The following countries were elected by the Economic and Social Council to nominate members for the period January 1, 1957, through December 31, 1959:

Cuba	France	Poland
Dominican Republic	Mexico	Sweden

REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

Economic Commission for Europe

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

1956 chairman: Pierre A. Forthomme, Belgium

Albania	Greece	Rumania
Austria	Hungary	Spain
Belgium	Iceland	Sweden
Bulgaria	Ireland	Turkey
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Italy	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Czechoslovakia	Luxembourg	U.S.S.R.
Denmark	Netherlands	United Kingdom
Finland	Norway	United States
France	Poland	Yugoslavia
Germany, Federal Republic of	Portugal	

Switzerland participates in a consultative capacity.

The Commission held its 11th session at Geneva from April 5 to 21. 1956.

Economic Commission for Latin America

Headquarters: Santiago, Chile

1956 chairman: Guillermo Vildósola Aquirre, Chile

Argentina	Ecuador	Nicaragua
Bolivia	El Salvador	Panama
Brazil	France	Paraguay
Chile	Guatemala	Peru
Colombia	Haiti	United Kingdom
Costa Rica	Honduras	United States
Cuba	Mexico	Uruguay
Dominican Republic	Netherlands	Venezuela

The Committee of the Whole met in Santiago, Chile, May 14 and 15, 1956.

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

Headquarters: Bangkok, Thailand

1956 chairman: D. P. Karmarkar, India

Afghanistan	Indonesia	Philippines
Australia	Japan	Thailand
Burma	Korea, Republic of	U.S.S.R.
Cambodia	Laos	United Kingdom
Ceylon	Nepal	United States
China	Netherlands	Viet-Nam
France	New Zealand	
India	Pakistan	

Associate members are:

Hong Kong	Malaya and British Borneo

The Commission held its 12th session at Bangalore, India, from February 2 to 14, 1956.

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND

On the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council Resolution 610 (XXIIB), the General Assembly during its 11th session decided (Resolution 1038 (XI)) that the Executive Board of the United Nations Children's Fund from January 1, 1957, shall be reconstituted "to consist of 30 States Members of the United Nations or members of the specialized agencies." The 30 are to be designated by the Economic and Social Council for appropriate terms, with due regard to geographic distribution and to the representation of the major contributing and recipient countries. The Economic and Social Council decided that the members of the Executive Board would be designated directly as the seats became vacant.

There were two meetings of the 26-member Executive Board held in 1956. The meetings of the Board from March 12 to 21 and October 22 to November 2, 1956, were held at headquarters in New York.

The membership is as follows:

1956 chairman: Mr. Balachandra Rajan, India (Reelected)

	Expiration date
Australia	December 31, 1958
Austria	December 31, 1959
Belgium	December 31, 1958
Brazil	December 31, 1957
Canada	December 31, 1958
Colombia	December 31, 1959
Czechoslovakia	December 31, 1959
Dominican Republic	December 31, 1959
Ecuador	December 31, 1959
El Salvador	December 31, 1958
Egypt	December 31, 1959
France	December 31, 1957
Germany, Federal Republic of	December 31, 1958
Greece	December 31, 1957
India	December 31, 1957
Indonesia	December 31, 1959
Iran	December 31, 1959
Israel	December 31, 1959
Italy	December 31, 1959
Japan	December 31, 1957
Pakistan	December 31, 1958
Philippines	December 31, 1957
Poland	December 31, 1958
Sweden	December 31, 1959
Switzerland	December 31, 1959
U.S.S.R.	December 31, 1957
United Kingdom	December 31, 1959
United States	December 31, 1957
Venezuela	December 31, 1958
Yugoslavia	December 31, 1958

UNITED NATIONS KOREAN RECONSTRUCTION AGENCY

The United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA) was established by a resolution of the General Assembly on December 1, 1950. Its purpose is to assist the Korean people to relieve the suffering and repair the devastation caused by aggression in Korea and to lay the necessary economic foundations for the political unification and independence of the country. From its inception to June 30, 1956, UNKRA had received as voluntary contributions from 40 governments (the United States being the largest contributor) $139.9 million, substantially all of which had been expended or obligated on the programs approved by the UNKRA Advisory Committee and by the General Assembly. The Advisory Committee of five nations—Canada, India, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay—which serves to advise the Agent General of UNKRA with regard to major financial, procurement, distribution, and other problems pertaining to planning and operations, met three times during 1956. UNKRA's program, as one part of the overall integrated program of economic assistance to Korea, is coordinated with the U.S. program of economic assistance, the latter program being administered in the field by the Economic Coordinator serving on the staff of the U.N. Command and in Washington by the International Cooperation Administration.

UNITED NATIONS REFUGEE FUND

Pursuant to General Assembly Resolution 832 (IX), Economic and Social Council Resolution 565 (XIX) established the Executive Committee of the United Nations Refugee Fund to consist of 20 governments not necessarily members of the United Nations, selected on the basis of their demonstrated interest in and devotion to the solution of the refugee problem.

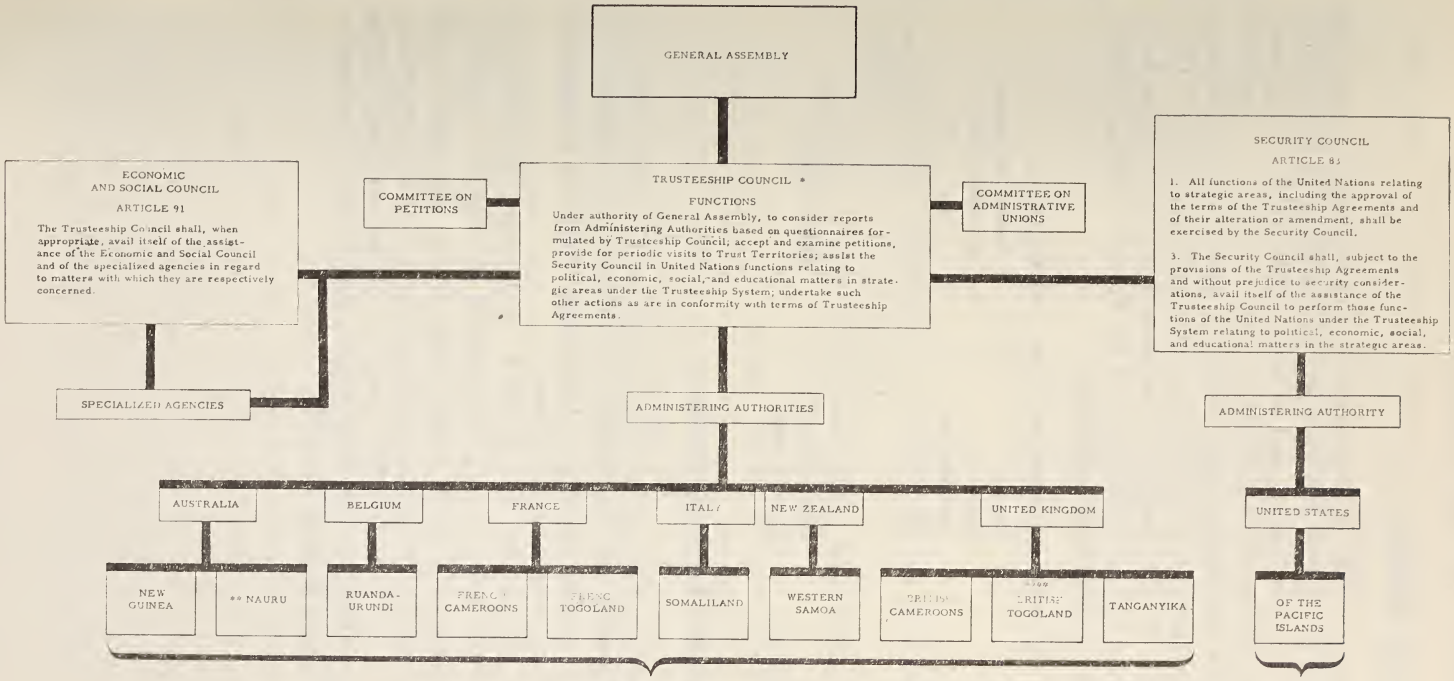
There were two meetings of the Executive Committee from January 23 to 27, 1956, and May 28 to June 1, 1956. There were also two meetings of the Program Sub-Committee from January 18 to 20, 1956, and May 23 to June 1, 1956. Meetings were held in Geneva, Switzerland.

The membership of the Executive Committee is as follows:

1956 chairman: C. L. Patijn, Netherlands

Australia	Germany, Federal Republic of	Netherlands
Austria	Greece	Norway
Belgium	Holy See	Switzerland
Brazil	Iran	Turkey
Colombia	Israel	United Kingdom
Denmark	Italy	United States
France		Venezuela

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM



*MEMBERSHIP (Art. 86): Members administering Trust Territories; permanent members of the Security Council not administering Trust Territories; and enough other Members elected by the General Assembly for 3-year terms to ensure that there is an equal number of Members which administer Trust Territories and those which do not.

** Administered by Australia, on behalf of Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom as joint Administering Authorities

*Administered by Italy for a 10-year period ending 1960, assisted by an Advisory Council composed of Colombia, Egypt, and the Philippines.

United with Ghana (Gold Coast) when that state became independent on March 6, 1957

DECEMBER 1956

The Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council consists of all U.N. members administering trust territories, the permanent members of the Security Council not administering trust territories, and as many other elected U.N. members not administering trust territories as are required to insure that the total number of members of the Council is equally divided between nations that administer trust territories and those that do not. There are 14 members of the Council. The elected members serve for a term of 3 years. At the 11th session of the General Assembly Haiti and India were reelected to membership.

Members Administering Trust Territories

Australia	France	United Kingdom
Belgium	Italy	United States
	New Zealand	

Permanent Members of Security Council not Administering Trust Territories

China	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Members Elected for 3-Year Terms by the General Assembly

Burma (1958)	Haiti (1959)	Syria (1958)
Guatemala (1958)	India (1959)	

The International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice consists of 15 judges elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council, voting independently. The judges are elected for 9-year terms, but one-third of the total number of judges is elected every 3 years.

On June 28, 1956, Judge Hsu Mo died. Judge Hsu Mo had served on the Court since 1946, having been elected in 1946 for a term of 3 years, and again in 1948 for a full 9-year term. During the 11th session of the General Assembly an election was held to fill the vacancy on the Court. V. K. Wellington Koo was elected by the Security Council and the General Assembly for the remainder of the term of Judge Hsu Mo, until February 5, 1958.

The present composition of the Court is as follows:

Order of precedence	Nationality	Date of expiration of term of office
Green H. Hackworth, President	American	February 5, 1961
Abdel Hamid Badawi, Vice President	Egyptian	February 5, 1958
Judges:		
J. G. Guerrero	Salvadoran	February 5, 1964
J. Basdevant	French	February 5, 1964
B. Winiarski	Polish	February 5, 1958
M. Zoričić	Yugoslav	February 5, 1958
H. Klaestad	Norwegian	February 5, 1961
J. E. Read	Canadian	February 5, 1958
V. K. Wellington Koo	Chinese	February 5, 1958
E. C. Armand-Ugon	Uruguayan	February 5, 1961
F. I. Kojevnikov	Russian	February 5, 1961
Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	Pakistani	February 5, 1961
Sir Hersch Lauterpacht	British	February 5, 1964
L. M. Moreno Quintana	Argentine	February 5, 1964
R. Córdova	Mexican	February 5, 1964

The Secretariat of the United Nations

The Secretariat under article 7 of the Charter is a principal organ of the United Nations. It is headed by the Secretary-General, who is the chief administrative officer of the organization. At the second part of the seventh regular session of the General Assembly, Dag Hammarskjold of Sweden was appointed as Secretary-General for a 5-year term. The Secretary-General and his staff provide secretariat services for the other principal organs, except the International Court of Justice, which has its own administrative body at The Hague known as the Registry. Nationals of 79 countries, 76 of them members of the United Nations, are employed in the Secretariat. There were, as of August 31, 1956, 4,159 employees on the staff. The functions of the Secretary-General and the Secretariat are described in general terms in chapter XV of the Charter.

The Secretariat serves as executive agent for the other organs; for example, the Secretary-General has played a key role in the Middle Eastern complex of problems, both as the coordinator of U.N. agencies and as negotiator among the parties involved in the Canal dispute as well as in the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egypt. He also was requested to investigate the situation in Hungary, to report on compliance with General Assembly resolutions and, generally, to take any initiative he deemed helpful. The Secretariat provides services and expert staff for the field missions, such as those in Korea and

India-Pakistan and the Trusteeship Council's missions to trust territories. The Secretariat also prepares studies and background material to facilitate the work of the several organs and their subsidiary bodies.

Another important task of the Secretariat is that of servicing meetings of the other principal organs (except the International Court of Justice) and of their subsidiary bodies. This includes provision of physical arrangements, translating, interpreting, preparation of minutes and documentation, publication of official records, and advising chairmen on precedents and parliamentary procedure.

A third responsibility of the Secretariat is the development of arrangements with specialized agencies for the coordination of programs and administrative and financial practices. Finally, the Secretariat is responsible for supplying information to the world on the purposes and daily activities of the United Nations.

ORGANIZATION

The main offices at headquarters and their top officials are as follows:

Executive Office of the Secretary-General
Andrew Cordier (U.S.), Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General

Office of Legal Affairs
C. A. Stavropoulos (Greek), Legal Counsel

Office of the Comptroller
B. R. Turner (New Zealand), Comptroller

Office of Personnel
J. A. C. Robertson (British), Director of Personnel

Under Secretaries Without Department
Ralph Bunche (U.S.)
Ilya Tchernychev (Soviet)

Department of Political and Security Council Affairs
D. Protitch (Yugoslav), Under Secretary

Department of Trusteeship and Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories
Benjamin Cohen (Chilean), Under Secretary

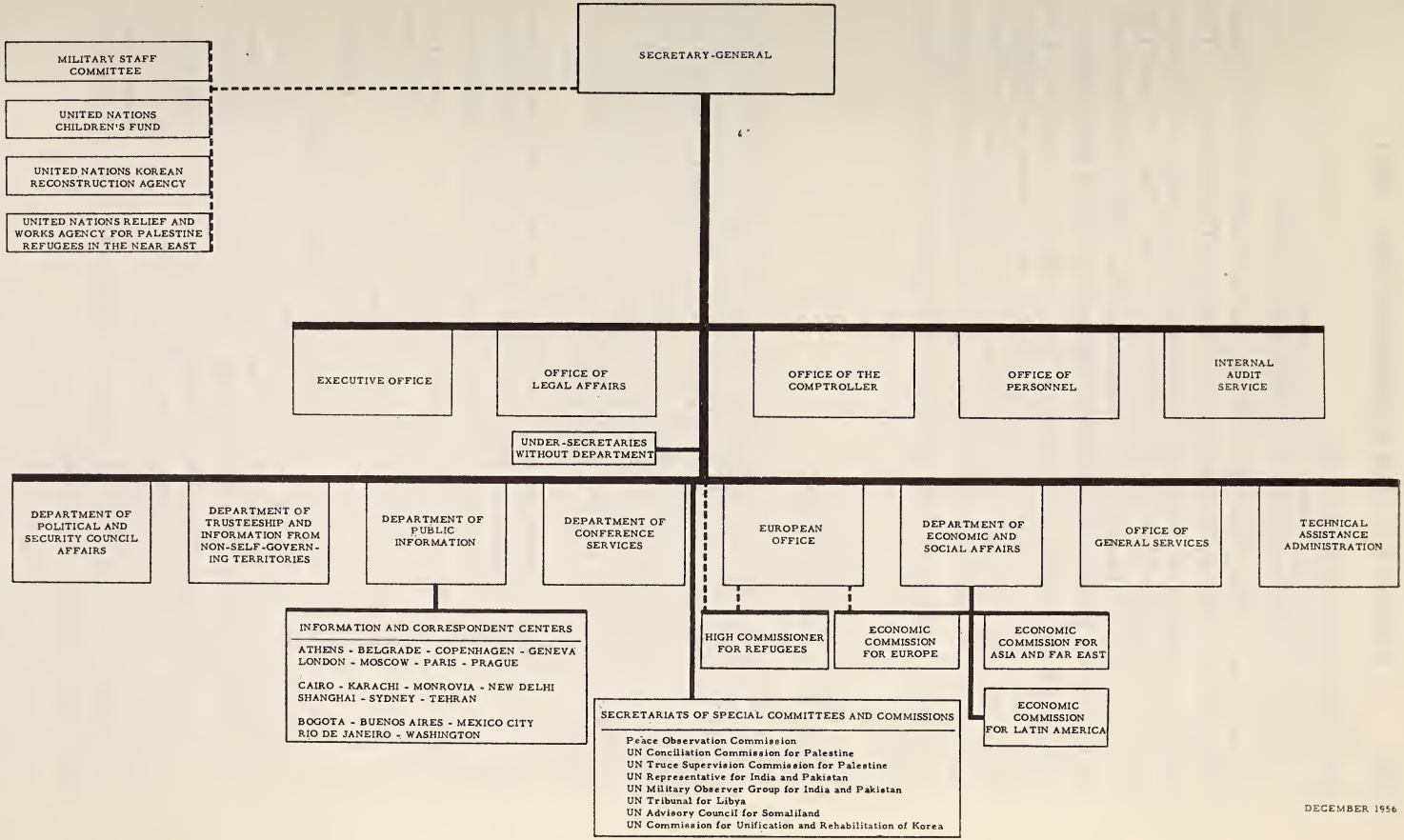
Department of Economic and Social Affairs
Philippe De Seynes (French), Under Secretary
W. Martin Hill (British), Deputy Under Secretary

Department of Public Information
Ahmed Shah Bokhari (Pakistani), Under Secretary

Department of Conference Services
Victor Hoo (Chinese), Under Secretary

Office of General Services
David Vaughan (U. S.), Director

THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARIAT



DECEMBER 1956

Technical Assistance Administration
Hugh L. Keenleyside (Canadian), Director General
G. Martinez-Cabanas (Mexican), Deputy Director General

In addition to the New York headquarters there is a European headquarters at Geneva, directed by Adriannus Pelt (Dutch). This is also the headquarters for the Economic Commission for Europe, headed by Gunnar Myrdal (Swedish), and the offices of the High Commissioner for Refugees, of which Auguste Lindt (Swiss) is the chief. The Secretary-General has also set up small field offices to service the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE), the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), and the 20 information centers required by the Department of Public Information to carry out its responsibility for insuring that peoples in all parts of the world receive full information about the United Nations.

ADVISORY COMMITTEES

The General Assembly exercises control over and gives direction to the administrative processes and financial administration of the Secretariat through its Administrative and Budgetary Committee. In addition it has created numerous expert bodies, the members of which serve on a continuing basis, to assist the Assembly and the Secretary-General in properly discharging their administrative and financial responsibilities. These include the following:

The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions, composed of nine members, examines the budgets of the United Nations and specialized agencies and assists the Administrative and Budgetary Committee of the General Assembly. As of January 1, 1957, the 9 members were Thanassis Aghnides (Greek), André Ganem (French), John Fobes (U.S.), Kadhim Khalaf (Iraqi), I. V. Chechetkin (Soviet), Carlos Blanco (Cuban), Arthur H. Clough (British), T. J. Natarajan (Indian), and Eduardo Carrizosa (Colombian).

The Committee on Contributions consists of 10 members who advise the General Assembly concerning the apportionment of expenses of the United Nations among members. The members as of January 1, 1957, were René Charron (French), Agha Shaki (Pakistani), Arthur Samuel Lall (Indian), Fernando A. Galvao (Brazilian), Jiri Nosek (Czechoslovak), Robert E. Merriam (U.S.), Josue Saenz (Mexican), Georgi F. Saksin (Soviet), Arthur H. Clough (British), and Sidney Pollock (Canadian).

The Administrative Tribunal, composed of 7 members, hears and passes judgment upon applications alleging nonobservance of contracts of employment or terms of appointment of staff members of the Secretariat of the United Nations. As of January 1, 1957, the 7 members, only 3 of whom sit in a particular case, were Mme. Paul Bastid (French), Lord Crook (British), R. Venkataraman (Indian), Jacob M. Lashly (U.S.), Omar Loutfi (Egyptian), Arvid Sture Petren (Swedish), and Francisco A. Forteza (Uruguayan).

The Board of Auditors audits the accounts of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, and such specialized agencies as may request its services. As of January 1, 1957, it was composed of 3 members serving for 3 years, as follows: Auditor-General of Netherlands, Auditor-General of Colombia, and Auditor-General of Norway.

The Investments Committee advises the Secretary-General concerning the investment of the assets of the Pension Fund and such other funds on the investment of which the Secretary-General may seek advice. As of January 1, 1957, it was composed of Ivar Rooth (Swedish), Leslie R. Rounds (U.S.), and Jacques Rueff (French).

The Staff Pension Committee represents the United Nations on the Joint Staff Pension Board and administers, in respect of U.N. employees, the powers delegated by the Board relating to admission of participants and granting of benefits. As of January 1, 1957, it was composed of 3 members elected by the General Assembly, 3 members appointed by the Secretary-General, and 3 elected by the participants. The members elected by the General Assembly are Arthur Clough (British), R. Torres Astorga (Chilean), and A. S. Watson (U.S.). The alternates elected by the General Assembly are Johan Kaufmann (Dutch), A. C. Liveran (Israeli), and Fazlollah Nouredin Kia (Iranian).

THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

International Labor Organization[1]

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Director General: David A. Morse, United States

Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Mexico
Morocco
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Rumania
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
Union of South Africa
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Viet-Nam
Yugoslavia

[1] Membership as of July 1, 1957.

Food and Agriculture Organization[1]

Headquarters: Rome, Italy

Director General: B. R. Sen, India

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Mexico
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Portugal
Saudi Arabia
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Union of South Africa
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yemen
Yugoslavia

[1] Membership as of July 1, 1957.

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Headquarters: Washington, D. C.

President: Eugene R. Black, United States

Vice President: Robert L. Garner, United States

The membership is the same as the member states of the International Monetary Fund, below, to which a state is required to belong before it can join the Bank.

International Monetary Fund [1]

Headquarters: Washington, D. C.

Chairman of the Executive Board and Managing Director: Ivar Rooth, Sweden

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Lebanon
Luxembourg
Mexico
Netherlands
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Saudi Arabia
Sweden
Syria
Thailand
Turkey
Union of South Africa
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yugoslavia

[1] Membership as of September 5, 1957.

International Finance Corporation[1]

Headquarters: Washington, D. C.

President: Robert L. Garner, United States

Australia	Finland	Luxembourg
Austria	France	Mexico
Belgium	Germany, Federal Republic of	Netherlands
Bolivia	Guatemala	Nicaragua
Brazil	Haiti	Norway
Burma	Honduras	Pakistan
Canada	Iceland	Panama
Ceylon	India	Paraguay
Chile	Indonesia	Peru
Colombia	Iran	Philippines
Costa Rica	Iraq	Sweden
Denmark	Israel	Thailand
Dominican Republic	Italy	Turkey
Ecuador	Japan	Union of South Africa
Egypt	Jordan	United Kingdom
El Salvador	Lebanon	United States
Ethiopia		Venezuela

[1] Came into existence July 1956. Agreement with the U.N. approved by the Board of Governors of the Corporation January 31, 1957, and by the General Assembly February 20, 1957. The above is the membership as of September 1, 1957. Membership as of September 1, 1957.

431953—58——21

International Civil Aviation Organization[1]

Headquarters: Montreal, Canada

Secretary General: Carl Ljungberg, Sweden

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Burma
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Mexico
Morocco
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Turkey
Union of South Africa
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam

[1] Membership as of July 1, 1957.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization[1]

Headquarters: Paris, France

Director General: Luther Evans, United States

Afghanistan
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Mexico
Monaco
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Rumania
Saudi Arabia
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yugoslavia

Associate Members

Gold Coast[2]
Jamaica, Trinidad, Grenada, Dominica, and Barbados (as one group)
Nigeria
Sarawak, North Borneo, Brunei, Singapore, Federation of Malaya (as one group)
Sierra Leone

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[1] Membership as of January 1, 1957.

[2] On March 6, 1957, when the Gold Coast became the sovereign state of Ghana, it became eligible for full membership in UNESCO.

World Health Organization[1]

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Director General: Marcolino G. Candau, Brazil

Afghanistan
Albania[4]
Argentina[2]
Australia
Austria
Belgium
Bolivia[2]
Brazil[2]
Bulgaria[4]
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.[3]
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile[2]
China
Costa Rica[2]
Cuba[2]
Czechoslovakia[3]
Denmark
Dominican Republic[2]
Ecuador[2]
Egypt
El Salvador[2]
Ethiopia
Finland
France
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana[5]
Greece
Guatemala[2]
Haiti[1]
Honduras[2]
Hungary[3]
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Mexico[2]
Monaco
Morocco
Nepal
Netherlands
New Zealand
Nicaragua[2]
Norway
Pakistan
Panama[2]
Paraguay[2]
Peru[2]
Philippines
Poland[4]
Portugal
Rumania[4]
Saudi Arabia
Spain
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.[3]
Union of South Africa
U.S.S.R.[4]
United Kingdom
United States[2]
Uruguay[2]
Venezuela[2]
Viet-Nam
Yemen
Yugoslavia

Associate Members

Nigeria
Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of
Gold Coast[5]
Sierra Leone

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[1] Membership as of July 1, 1957.

[2] Members of Pan American Sanitary Organization.

[3] States no longer considering themselves members.

[4] Although in the past several years these states have not considered themselves members, their resumption of active participation dates from January 1, 1957.

[5] On April 8, 1957, the associate membership of the Gold Coast terminated to be replaced by full membership for the State of Ghana, which on that date deposited its instrument of acceptance of the WHO Constitution.

Universal Postal Union[1]

Headquarters: Bern, Switzerland

Secretary General: Fritz Hess, Switzerland

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgian Congo
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
French Overseas Territories
Germany, Federal Republic of
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Mexico
Monaco
Morocco
Morocco (Spanish Zone)
Netherlands
Netherlands Antilles and Surinam
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Portuguese Territories of East Africa, Asia, and Oceania
Portuguese Territories of West Africa
Rumania
San Marino
Saudi Arabia
Spain
Spanish Colonies
Sudan
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
Union of South Africa (including South-West Africa)
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
The whole of the British overseas territories, including the colonies, protectorates, and territories under trusteeship.
United States
U.S. Territories, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
Uruguay
Vatican City
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yemen
Yugoslavia

[1] Membership as of July 1, 1957.

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International Telecommunication Union[1]

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Secretary General: Marco Aurelio Andrada, Argentina

Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgian Congo and Territory of Ruanda-Urundi
Belgium
Bolivia
Brazil
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
France, overseas territories of
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Haiti
Honduras
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea, Republic of
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Luxembourg
Mexico
Monaco
Morocco
Netherlands, Surinam, Netherlands Antilles, New Guinea
New Zealand
Nicaragua
Norway
Pakistan
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Portuguese overseas provinces
Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of
Rumania
Saudi Arabia
Spain
Spanish Zone of Morocco and the totality of Spanish possessions
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
Union of South Africa and Territory of South-West Africa
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, colonies, protectorates and territories
United States
United States territories
Uruguay
Vatican City
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yemen
Yugoslavia

Associate Members

Bermuda—British Caribbean Group
British East Africa
British West Africa
British Malaya—Borneo Group
Trust Territory of Somaliland under Italian administration

[1] Membership as of July 1, 1957.

World Meteorological Organization[1]

Headquarters: Geneva, Switzerland

Secretary General: D. A. Davies, United Kingdom

Afghanistan
Albania
Argentina
Australia
Austria
Belgian Congo
Belgium
Bermuda
Bolivia
Brazil
British Caribbean Territories
British East African Territories and Indian Ocean Islands
British Malaya/Borneo Territories
British West African Territories
Bulgaria
Burma
Byelorussian S.S.R.
Cambodia
Canada
Ceylon
Chile
China
Cuba
Czechoslovakia
Denmark
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
El Salvador
Ethiopia
Finland
France
French Cameroons
French Equatorial Africa
French Oceania
French Somaliland
French Togoland
French West Africa
Germany, Federal Republic of
Ghana
Greece
Guatemala
Guinea, Spanish Territories of
Haiti
Hong Kong
Hungary
Iceland
India
Indonesia
Iraq
Ireland
Israel
Italy
Japan
Jordan
Korea
Laos
Lebanon
Libya
Luxembourg
Madagascar
Mexico
Morocco
Morocco, Spanish Protectorate of
Netherlands
Netherlands Antilles
Netherlands New Guinea
New Caledonia
New Zealand
Norway
Pakistan
Paraguay
Peru
Philippines
Poland
Portugal
Portuguese East Africa
Portuguese West Africa
Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Federation of
Rumania
Spain
Sudan
Surinam
Sweden
Switzerland
Syria
Thailand
Tunisia
Turkey
Ukrainian S.S.R.
Union of South Africa
U.S.S.R.
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela
Viet-Nam
Yugoslavia

[1] Membership as of September 15, 1957.

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization: Preparatory Committee (Formative)[1]

Headquarters: Transport and Communications Division
United Nations Secretariat, New Nork, N. Y.

The Preparatory Committee is made up of:

Argentina	France	Norway
Australia	Greece	Sweden
Belgium	India	United Kingdom
Canada	Netherlands	United States

[1] IMCO will come into being when 21 states have ratified the IMCO convention. Nineteen ratifications have been received as of March 20, 1957, at U.N. headquarters from Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Burma, Canada, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, France, Haiti, Honduras, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Greece withdrew its ratification of the convention on March 26, 1956.

APPENDIX IV

United States Representation in the United Nations System

MISSIONS

Mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations

The United States is represented by a permanent mission at the headquarters of the United Nations in New York. Under the direction of the representative of the United States to the United Nations, the mission carries out the instructions of the President, as transmitted by the Secretary of State, in U.N. bodies at the headquarters of the United Nations. It also serves as the channel of communication between the U.S. Government and the U.N. organs, agencies, and commissions at the headquarters and the delegations of other nations to the United Nations located in New York. It is a base of operations for the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly and to other U.N. organs and agencies when they meet in New York.

The structure, organization, and functions of the U.S. mission to the United Nations have been determined in the main by the following factors:

1. The requirements of the U.N. Charter and the resolutions of the organs of the United Nations, the General Assembly in particular.
2. The provisions of the United Nations Participation Act (Public Law 264, 79th Cong.) as amended by Public Law 341 of the Eighty-first Congress.
3. Executive Order 10108, which superseded Executive Order 9844.
4. Location of the headquarters of the United Nations in the United States and the consequent need for the United States to assume the responsibilities of "host government."
5. The fact that the United States, in consequence of its leadership role in the United Nations, is represented on all organs and virtually all commissions and committees of the United Nations.

The chief of the mission is the U.S. representative to the United Nations, who, by statute, is the U.S. representative in the Security Council. He is assisted by a deputy representative of the United States to the United Nations, who, by statute, is deputy U.S. representative in the Security Council. There is also a second deputy representative in the Security Council. Other principal officers of the mission are the U.S. representatives on the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council.

During 1956 the chief of the mission served, with the assistance of deputies, as U.S. representative in the following commissions of the General Assembly: The Conciliation Commission for Palestine and the Disarmament Commission.

The main source of policy guidance and strategical direction for the conduct of the U.S. participation in the United Nations is necessarily the Department of State. The mission, however, has a staff consisting of a counselor, a small number of advisers and a secretariat under an executive director. The advisers assist the U.S. representative in (1) planning the tactical pursuit of U.S. policy objectives in the light of the political and parliamentary situations in U.N. organs and bodies; (2) consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other delegations and the U.N. Secretariat; and (3) the discharge of the responsibilities of the United States as "host government," in particular those arising from the headquarters agreement between the United States and the United Nations (Public Law 357, 80th Cong.) and the International Organizations Immunities Act (Public Law 291, 79th Cong.), which deal *inter alia* with relations of the United Nations, its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities. The secretariat of the mission assists the U.S. representative in (1) the coordination of the above activities; (2) the provision of necessary research, reference, reporting, and communications services; and (3) the administration and management of the U.S. mission.

Other United States Missions

In addition to the U.S. mission to the United Nations, the United States during 1956 maintained several special missions in order to participate effectively in the work of certain U.N. bodies that do not have headquarters in the United States.

There were a U.S. representative for International Organization Affairs and a permanent resident delegation at Geneva. As a part of its responsibilities the delegation was charged with maintaining liaison for the United States with the European Office of the United Nations, the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, the International Labor Organization, the World Health Organization, the International Telecommunication Union, and the World Meteorological Organization.

A special U.S. mission, the Office of the U.S. Representative to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization, was maintained in Montreal. Liaison was also maintained with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) through the American Embassy staff in Paris, and with the Advisory Commission of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East through a staff officer of the American Embassy in Beirut.

Representation was also maintained on the Advisory Committee to the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency.

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS, ITS ORGANS, SUBSIDIARY BODIES, AND THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES DURING 1956

United States representative and chief of United States mission to the United Nations
Henry Cabot Lodge
Deputy United States representative
James J. Wadsworth

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Eleventh Regular Session, New York, November 12, 1956–March 8, 1957 [1]

Representatives
John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State [2]
Henry Cabot Lodge
Senator William F. Knowland
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
Paul G. Hoffman
Ellsworth Bunker

Alternate Representatives
James J. Wadsworth
Richard Lee Jones
Frank C. Nash
Edward S. Greenbaum
Mrs. Oswald B. Lord

Interim Committee of the General Assembly

Representative
Henry Cabot Lodge

Committee on Information From Non-Self-Governing Territories

Representative
Mason Sears
Benjamin Gerig, alternate

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Representative
Henry Cabot Lodge
Deputy representatives
James J. Wadsworth
James W. Barco (appointed April 12, 1956)

DISARMAMENT COMMISSION

Representative
Henry Cabot Lodge
Deputy representative
Harold E. Stassen

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[1] The General Assembly adjourned temporarily on March 8, 1957. The Assembly's President in consultation with the Secretary-General and Member States with representatives on the 11th session General Committee may reconvene the Assembly to discuss the Middle Eastern or Hungarian problems.

[2] When in attendance, the Secretary served as Senior Representative *ex officio*. At other times, Ambassador Lodge served as Senior Representative.

MILITARY STAFF COMMITTEE

Representatives

Air Force: Lt. Gen. L. W. Johnson, USAF (until March 1956)
Lt. Gen. C. B. Stone III, USAF (beginning April 1956)
Army: Lt. Gen. Thomas W. Herren, USA
Navy: Vice Adm. Arthur D. Struble, USN (until June 1956)
Vice Adm. F. W. McMahon, USN (beginning July 1956)

Deputy Representatives

Air Force: Col. Reginald F. C. Vance, USAF
Army: Col. S. E. Otto, USA (until July 31, 1956)
Col. J. H. Skinner, USA (beginning August 1, 1956)
Navy: Capt. Allan G. Gaden, USN

Secretaries

Comdr. B. J. Lauff, USN (until June 1956)
Lt. Col. Raymond N. Lipscomb, USAF (beginning July 1956)

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Representative
John C. Baker

Deputy representatives
Walter M. Kotschnig
Nat. B. King (until September 28, 1956)

Commissions of the Economic and Social Council and United States Representatives

Narcotic Drugs: Harry J. Anslinger
Social: Mrs. Althea K. Hottel
Transport and Communications: George P. Baker
Population: Kingsley Davis
Status of Women: Mrs. Lorena B. Hahn
Statistical: Raymond T. Bowman (appointed February 9, 1956)
Human Rights: Mrs. Oswald B. Lord
International Commodity Trade[3]

Regional Commissions of the Economic and Social Council

Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East

Chairman, U.S. delegation, 12th session (Bangalore, India, February 2–14, 1956)
Howard P. Jones

Economic Commission for Europe

United States representative (11th session)
Stanley C. Allyn

Economic Commission for Latin America

United States representative, Committee of the Whole, (Santiago, Chile, May 14, 15, 1956)
William Sanders
Robert Dorr, alternate

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[3] The United States representative at the 20th session of the Economic and Social Council announced that the United States would not be able to participate as a member in the work of the Commission and would be satisfied to see some other member elected to membership in its place.

THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

United States representative
Mason Sears

Deputy representative
Benjamin Gerig
Delmas H. Nucker, special representative (18th session)

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND[4]

United States representative, Executive Board
Martha M. Eliot, M.D.
Mrs. Elizabeth B. Cusack, alternate

SPECIAL COMMITTEES AND COMMISSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

United Nations Collective Measures Committee

United States representative
James J. Wadsworth

United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine

United States representative
Henry Cabot Lodge

Deputy representative
James W. Barco

United Nations Peace Observation Commission

United States representative
James J. Wadsworth

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

United States representative, Advisory Commission
(Vacancy)

Advisory Committee to the Agent General of the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency

United States representative
Henry Cabot Lodge

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations

Ninth Session FAO Conference
U.S. member: Earl L. Butz
Alternate U.S. member: Ralph S. Roberts
Associate U.S. member: Francis Deak

United States members, FAO Council
Oris V. Wells (24th session)
Francis Deak, alternate
Ralph S. Roberts (25th session)
Francis Deak, alternate
Robert C. Tetro, alternate

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[4] Formerly United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

International Atomic Energy Agency

United States representative, Preparatory Commission
James J. Wadsworth

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

United States Governor, Board of Governors
George M. Humphrey

Alternate United States Governor
Herbert V. Prochnow (resigned November 15, 1956)

United States Executive Director
Andrew N. Overby

Alternate United States Executive Director
John S. Hooker

International Civil Aviation Organization

United States representative on the Council of ICAO
Harold A. Jones (resigned November 5, 1956)

Alternate United States representatives on the Council of ICAO and United States representatives on the Air Navigation Commission
Roland E. Stuttevant (resigned August 1956)
Howard W. Helfert (appointed August 31, 1956)

Alternate United States representative on the Council of ICAO and United States representative on the Air Transport Committee
(Vacancy)

International Labor Organization

Representative of the Government of the United States to the Governing Body of the International Labor Office
J. Ernest Wilkins
Arnold Zempel, substitute

International Monetary Fund

United States Governor, Board of Governors
George M. Humphrey

Alternate United States Governor
Herbert V. Prochnow (resigned November 15, 1956)

United States Executive Director
Frank A. Southard, Jr.

Alternate United States Executive Director
John S. Hooker

International Telecommunication Union

United States representative, Administrative Council
Francis Colt de Wolf

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

United States representative on Executive Board
Athelstan F. Spilhaus

Universal Postal Union

United States representative, Executive Liaison Committee
Greevor Allen

World Health Organization

United States member, Executive Board
Frederick J. Brady, M.D. (U.S. membership on Board expired May 1956)

World Meteorological Organization

United States member, Executive Committee
Francis W. Reichelderfer

APPENDIX V

Documentary Publications on the United Nations

United Nations publications may be found in many libraries throughout the country. The resolutions and proceedings of the various U.N. organs, including the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, and Trusteeship Council, appear in the *Official Records* series. Documents and reports presented to the above-mentioned organs, considered during the meetings, or drawn up in the course of the discussions are generally printed as *annexes* or *supplements* to the *Official Records*. *Official Records* and published U.N. documents, including final reports and special studies, may be purchased from the United Nations Sales Agent, International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y., and from Sub-Agents of the United Nations (for list see below). The United Nations also publishes annually the *Yearbook of the United Nations*. The latest complete catalogues describing U.N. publications and other documentation, *Ten Years of United Nations Publications 1945 to 1955* and *United Nations Publications 1955*, may be purchased from the U.N. Sales Agent. The published documents, mimeographed documents of the organs of the United Nations, may be purchased at an annual rate from the United Nations Sales and Circulation Section, Department of Public Information, United Nations, New York, N.Y. Information concerning the rates of the various series of mimeographed documents will be given upon request.

Depository libraries have been established throughout the world by the United Nations Library in order to make available to the public reference collections of documents and publications. These depository libraries (for list see below) are situated in principal centers of research throughout the country, with due regard to adequate geographic distribution. In addition the United Nations exchanges documents on a reciprocal basis with a number of foundations and research organizations. United Nations documents are available in the Library of Congress and in the libraries of a number of government agencies concerned with questions of international relations.

The Department of State periodically issues reports on the United Nations, reports of the U.S. delegations to U.N. meetings, and separate pamphlets and documents dealing with international organization matters of interest to the United States. Examples of such publications are *International Organizations in Which the United States Participates, 1949* (Department of State publication 3655), and *Participation of the United States Government in International Conferences, July 1, 1955–June 30, 1956* (Department of State publication 6548). Information and documents of current interest are contained in the *Department of State Bulletin*, a weekly publication. Lists of all relevant departmental publications may be obtained from the Division of Publishing Services, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

SUB-AGENTS FOR SALE OF UNITED NATIONS PUBLICATIONS AND VISUAL MATERIALS

World Affairs Council of Philadelphia
The John Wanamaker Store
13th and Market Streets
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Council on World Affairs
922 Society for Savings Building
Cleveland 14, Ohio

Cincinnati Council on World Affairs
233 East 4th Street
Cincinnati 2, Ohio

Toledo Council on World Affairs
331 Security Building
Toledo 4, Ohio

St. Louis Council on World Affairs
418 Olive Street
St. Louis 2, Mo.

Dallas Council on World Affairs
2419 Maple Avenue
Dallas 4, Tex.

American Association for the United Nations
111 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago 4, Ill.

Chicago Council on Foreign Relations
Pamphlet Shop, 116 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 3, Ill.

World Affairs Council
10 Arlington Street
Boston, Mass.

Minnesota United Nations Association
15th and Washington Avenue, S. E.
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis 14, Minn.

American Association for the United Nations
Town & Country Village
3d and Fairfax
Los Angeles 36, Calif.

World Affairs Council of Northern California
421 Powell Street
San Francisco 2, Calif.

New Hampshire Council on World Affairs
Commons Building
Durham, N. H.

UNITED NATIONS DEPOSITORY LIBRARIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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Berkeley, Calif.

Los Angeles Public Library
Los Angeles, Calif.

University of California at Los Angeles
Los Angeles, Calif.

Stanford University
Stanford University, Calif.

Denver Public Library
Denver, Colo.

Yale University
New Haven, Conn.

Brookings Institution
Washington 6, D.C.

Columbus Memorial Library
Pan American Union
Washington, D.C.

Library of Congress
Washington, D.C.

Library of International Relations
Chicago, Ill.

University of Chicago
Chicago, Ill.

Northwestern University
Evanston, Ill.

University of Illinois
Urbana, Ill.

Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, La.

Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore, Md.

World Peace Foundation
Boston, Mass.

Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass.

University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, Mich.

University of Minnesota
Minneapolis, Minn.

St. Louis Public Library
St. Louis, Mo.

Princeton University
Princeton, N.J.

Cornell University
Ithaca, N.Y.

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Chapel Hill, N.C.

Cleveland Public Library
Cleveland, Ohio

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa.

Brown University
Providence, R.I.

Joint University Libraries
Nashville, Tenn.

University of Texas
Austin, Tex.

University of Washington
Seattle, Wash.

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